

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION

# Festival of American Folklife







Members of the Ethiopian Christian community participate in an annual candlelight ceremony called Maskal (cross finding) at Malcolm X Park in the District of Columbia.

Photo by Harold Dorwin, © Smithsonian Institution



S M I T H S O N I A N I N S T I T U T I O N

# Festival of American Folklife

On the National Mall  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

June 25 — 29 & July 2 — 6

Cosponsored by the National Park Service





## On the Cover

*At this baptism at Lake Providence, Louisiana, in the Delta region, the minister repeats a prayer as each candidate, dressed in traditional robe and headgear, is immersed. The baptized are then received by members of the church and taken away to change.* Photo © Susan Roach

Site Map on the Back Cover

*Hazel Dailey from Columbia, Louisiana, works with the insert to the pressure cooker she uses in canning produce.*

Photo by Sylvia Frantom



*Tradition-based social occasions like this coffee ceremony at the Washington, D.C., home of Hermela Kebede reinforce ties between generations of Ethiopian women living in the United States.* Photo by Harold Dorwin,

© Smithsonian Institution



*At a gathering of the Zion Christian Church in South Africa's northern province of Mpumalanga, the men of Makhukhu dance as an expression of faith.* Photo © T. J. Lemon



*The Carolina Tar Heels (left to right, Clarence [Tom] Ashley, Doc Walsh, Gwen Foster), ca. 1930.*

Photo courtesy CFPCS Archive



*Crop dusting cotton fields in the Mississippi Delta.*

Photo © Maida Owens



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© 1997 SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION  
ISSN 1056-6805  
EDITOR: Carla M. Borden  
ASSOCIATE EDITOR: Peter Seitel  
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DESIGNER: Karin Hayes  
PRODUCTION MANAGER: Eric Conn







S M I T H S O N I A N I N S T I T U T I O N

# Festival of American Folklife



# The Festival: More Than a Song

*I. Michael Heyman  
Secretary, Smithsonian Institution*

*There is another world  
of culture created and  
sustained in homes,  
communities, places of  
work and worship....*

*It is the culture  
highlighted at our  
annual Festival of  
American Folklife.*

The entertainment industry today dominates popular views of culture. Cultural enterprises including movies, television, theme parks, recordings, and video stores constitute one of the world's largest industries.

There is another world of culture created and sustained in homes, communities, places of work and worship. Our lullabies and hymns, liturgical chants and celebratory songs, songs of work, struggle, and mourning, are rarely heard in music stores or on radio stations. It is the culture highlighted at our annual Festival of American Folklife.

We have three programs at this year's Festival. *Sacred Sounds* brings together people from a variety of religious communities, from around the nation, Jerusalem, and from South Africa. Their songs express spiritual feelings and convictions connecting their lives to tradition.

A second program, *African Immigrant Folklife*, illustrates the many traditions of recent immigrants to the United States from Africa. These immigrants participate in a changing culture, as people, families, and communities find their place in American society.

*The Mississippi Delta*, the subject of a third Festival program, is a culturally rich region of the United States that has given us blues, jazz, rockabilly and rock 'n' roll, honky tonk, distinctive forms of gospel, oratory, marvelous stories, folk and visionary art, and an encyclopedia of river lore — not to mention barbecue and fish fries. These cultural expressions have been continually shaped by the daily experience — the work, worship, home life, and recreation — of the people who live there.

The Festival is a good example of how the Smithsonian can reach large audiences in an educational and entertaining way. As its organizers are fond of saying, though, the Festival is also much more than occurs on the National Mall. Over the past decade the Festival has generated more than a dozen television documentaries, a score of Smithsonian Folkways recordings, learning guides for schools in several countries and various regions of the United States. And now we have the Virtual Festival on our World Wide Web pages (at [www.si.edu/folklife/vfest](http://www.si.edu/folklife/vfest)).

Our course is clear. We must use modern mass media to communicate the value of cultural traditions while maintaining our values as scholars and educators. Our "ratings" are measured by how successfully we can reach the broadest number of people and thus realize our original mission to increase and diffuse knowledge.



# On the Banks of the River Together

**Bruce Babbitt**  
*Secretary of the Interior*

*The Department of the  
Interior has as part of  
its mission the  
protection of a  
magnificent and  
bountiful heritage....  
[This] includes our  
cultural heritage.*

The Department of the Interior has as part of its mission the protection of a magnificent and bountiful heritage. This includes the natural environment, like America's rivers and other waterways. But it also includes our cultural heritage, that which defines our sense of place and unites us as a people, as a nation, and as a world community.

This year at the Festival we are proud to join with the Smithsonian Institution in celebrating the traditions of the Mississippi Delta, a culturally rich region where Native, Spanish, African, French, and American people all merged, just as many tributaries flow into one river. Beginning even before the arrival of Europeans, the Mississippi has been a source of food and irrigation, a highway for commerce, a strategic center for political power, a source of inspiration for song and spirit.

We also celebrate the enterprise and vitality of recent immigrants to the United States from Africa, who have brought their cultures across the Atlantic Ocean. At the Festival, we will also hear in *Sacred Sounds* some of the ways in which music flows from the spirit of a diverse humanity to express its highest aspirations.

It is most fitting that we gather on the lovely National Mall, here among the national monuments and museums. Here we are part of the confluence of two historic and living watersheds, the Anacostia River and the Potomac River; where their waters and traditions join together, we celebrate our American and human cultural heritage.



# The Festival of American Folklife: Culture, Dead or Alive?

**Richard Kurin**

artists, performers, craftspeople, workers, cooks, storytellers, ritual specialists, and other exemplars from numerous ethnic, tribal, regional, and occupational cultures. The Festival is a research-based, curated production, drawing on the efforts of Smithsonian staff, academic and lay scholars from the featured states or regions, and plain folks who know a great deal about their community. The Festival typically includes daily and evening programs of music, song, dance, celebratory performance, craft and cooking demonstrations, storytelling, illustrations of workers' culture, and narrative sessions for discussing cultural issues.

If the Festival as a whole is like a temporary museum, each Festival program is akin to an exhibition, with its own boundaries and space (about two football fields), labels and signage. A good-sized program consists of about 100 participants and a dozen lay and academic scholars we call presenters, who provide background information, introductions, translations, and help answer visitors' questions. Programs have featured world regions, particular nations, transnational cultural groups, American states, and ethnic groups; the cultures of the elderly, the young, and the deaf; and occupational groups from

Anyone who visits Washington, D.C., around the Fourth of July can't miss the Festival of American Folklife. Held in cooperation with the National Park Service, spread out in a sea of large white tents across the National Mall, the Festival is an annual living exhibition of cultural heritage from around the United States and the world. It extends the Smithsonian outdoors but in displays very different from those of the Institution's traditional museums.

Since its inception, the Festival of American Folklife has featured more than 16,000 musicians,

cowboys to taxi drivers, meat cutters, bricklayers, Senators (as in baseball players) and senators (as in members of Congress), doctors, trial lawyers, domestic servants in the White House, and even scientists at the Smithsonian.

The Festival attempts to create a physical context for the traditions represented. In the past, the Festival has included, among other things, a race course from Kentucky, an oil rig from Oklahoma, a glacier from Alaska, a New Jersey boardwalk, a New Mexican adobe plaza, a Japanese rice paddy, a Senegalese home compound, and an Indian festival village. Animals, from cow-cutting horses to llamas, from steers to sheared sheep, have been part of Festival presentations. A buffalo calf was even born on the Mall one Festival morning, and an escaped steer was roped to the ground in the Kennedy Center parking lot after a chase down Constitution Avenue.

The Festival has had strong impacts on policies, scholarship, and folks "back home." Many U.S. states and several nations have remounted a Festival program and used it to generate laws, institutions, educational programs, documentary films, recordings, exhibitions, monographs, and cultural activities. In many cases, the Festival has energized local and regional tradition bearers and their communities and thus helped conserve and create cultural resources. Research for the Festival and documentation of its presentations have entailed complex local collaborations and training and have resulted in a documentary archival collection at the Smithsonian that is also shared with various local institutions. These resources have been used for various publications by staff scholars and fellows and for Smithsonian Folklife recordings and other educational products, which have won, among

# The Festival of American Folklife & You

**Diana Parker**



# 1997 Festival of American Folklife

Welcome to the 1997 Festival of American Folklife. The Festival is a Smithsonian exhibition, and in many ways it is very like what you will find inside the museums. It requires serious academic research, is guided by people who have specialized knowledge in the area being presented, and follows the same bureaucratic and programmatic regulations as all Smithsonian exhibitions. In other ways, however, it is quite different. Take one of my favorite exhibitions, the Museum of American History's *From Field to Factory*, for instance. If you had access to the museum and could go in at midnight and walk alone through the exhibition, it would still be the same exhibition. The Festival of American Folklife at midnight is just a bunch of signs and empty tents. What is missing is the heart of the Festival: the artists

who are being presented, and you.

The point of the Festival is to give you access to some of the most interesting thinkers, artists, and workers alive today. They carry with them a wealth of skill and wisdom, and, by agreeing to come to the Festival, they have agreed to share that knowledge with you. They may be doing things that are unfamiliar to you — singing a different song, wearing different clothes, cooking different foods — or they may be enacting something that you know as well as you know your own name. In either case, talk to them. Thank them for coming to the Festival. Ask about what they do. Find out more about what it means. This Festival you are attending is the ultimate interactive medium. Play it to the hilt. You may be surprised what the outcome will be.

At the 1996 Festival a visitor asked a fiddle player where she had learned a particularly lovely tune she was playing. After about five minutes of conversation they realized that they had met twenty years before on another continent. A warm friendship was renewed. At the 1986 Festival a Tennessee cooper started questioning a Japanese saki cask maker about his barrels. The Tennessean eventually applied for and received a grant to go to Japan and study the way that his skills and the Japanese traditions overlapped. Your experience may not be as dramatic as these, but I promise you it will be rewarding. Be brave. Talk to people. Make a new friend.

*Diana Parker began working for the Festival of American Folklife in 1975 and has served as its director since 1984.*

others, Academy, Emmy, and Grammy awards and nominations.

The Festival is free to the public and attracts about one million visitors. As the largest annual cultural event in the U.S. capital, the Festival offers insights into the way culture is presented to mass audiences and stands as an alternative type of museum display as well as of scholarly/curatorial practice.

## FESTIVAL BACKGROUND

The Festival began in 1967 under Secretary S. Dillon Ripley. In the mid-sixties, Ripley surveyed a stretch of the National Mall — that vast greensward extending from the U.S. Capitol to the Lincoln Memorial. Here was the Smithsonian's front yard and, indeed, following Martin Luther King's use of the Mall for the Civil Rights march, the front yard of the nation. Yet to Ripley it looked dead — he called the Mall "Forest Lawn on the Potomac." He wanted to engage the public and signal the openness of the Smithsonian complex. He had several proposals for livening it up — a carousel, a bandstand — but he needed something big and dramatic that fit the Smithsonian's larger mission.

A proposal from James Morris, his head of Museum Services (and later Performing Arts), was to produce a folk festival. Morris was interested in American folk traditions, largely from a theatrical perspective, and had previously initiated the American Folk Festival in Asheville, North Carolina. This festival, which lasted only

a few years, was a staged performance — it was something written and directed. Ripley was interested in the idea, but it was to take a more ethnographic turn.

Alan Lomax, a well-known scholar, folklorist, writer, and music researcher who had been at the Library of Congress and was working with the Newport Folk Festival, suggested that the Smithsonian hire Ralph Rinzler, Newport's director of field research, to help develop the Smithsonian program. Rinzler had done documentary fieldwork in the American South and among French Americans. He had managed Bill Monroe's revived career, "discovered" Doc Watson, and introduced Dewey Balfa and Cajun music to general audiences. A college friend of folklorist Roger Abrahams, friend of Peggy Seeger, and sometime employee of Moe Asch at Folkways Records, Ralph was a child of the Folk Revival in the fifties and sixties. He learned songs in New York's Washington Square Park from Woody Guthrie, was close friends with Mary Travers (of Peter, Paul & Mary), and played with the Greenbriar Boys, an urban bluegrass group — the opening act for which was Bob Dylan. Rinzler was a musician and impresario but also had a scholarly mind and temperament and soaked in lessons from musicologist Charles Seeger, Lomax, and numerous other mentors and colleagues.

Morris, Rinzler, and others put together the first Festival in 1967 — a four-day affair overlapping the Fourth of July, with performances by Bessie Jones and the Georgia Sea Island Singers, Moving Star Hall



Singers, storyteller Janie Hunter, the Olympia Brass Band from New Orleans, Acoma potters, coil basket makers, Navajo sand painters, cowboy singer Glenn Ohrlin, Libba Cotton, bluesman John Jackson, and Eskimo, Puerto Rican, Russian, and Irish musicians and dancers.

Wrote Paul Richard of *The Washington Post* about the Festival, "The marble museums of the Smithsonian are filled with beautiful handworn things made long ago by forgotten American craftsmen. Nostalgic reminders of our folk craft heritage, the museum exhibits are discreetly displayed, precisely labeled, and dead. But the folk craft tradition has not died. Yesterday it burst into life before the astonished eyes of visitors on the Mall."

Mary McGrory echoed the sentiment and thanked Dillon Ripley, who was quoted as saying, "My thought is that we have dulcimers in cases in the museum, but how many people have actually heard one or seen one being made?"

Working with folklorist Henry Glassie, the Smithsonian organized a conference that first year to help define this new genre that abutted the museum world. The participants included anthropologists, folklorists, and musicologists: Lomax, Abrahams, Asch, Ward Goodenough, D.K. Wilgus, Don Yoder, and Archie Green; architect James Marston Fitch, geographer Fred Kniffen, and several international scholars. Others with a social activist orientation from the Civil Rights and Labor movements — Miles Horton, Bernice Reagon, Pete Seeger — also got involved. The Festival early on became a vehicle for public education and advocacy, giving recognition to the traditional wisdom, knowledge, skills, and artistry of cultural groups not well represented at the Smithsonian or in the society at large.

### THE FESTIVAL MODEL

Though Ripley's own view of folk culture may have been somewhat nostalgic, he nonetheless saw the importance of the Festival as an alternative to traditional ethnographic museum displays. As he wrote in *The Sacred Grove*, "There is another realm in museums for anthropologists. This is in connection with folk culture or folklife." The Festival was an attempt by the Smithsonian to turn museology outward, to connect with the public, and to amplify the voices of those represented. The national treasures celebrated at the Festival are the people themselves. At the time, there was a trend in the museum world of using "living history" as a presentational or interpretive technique. Whereas living history

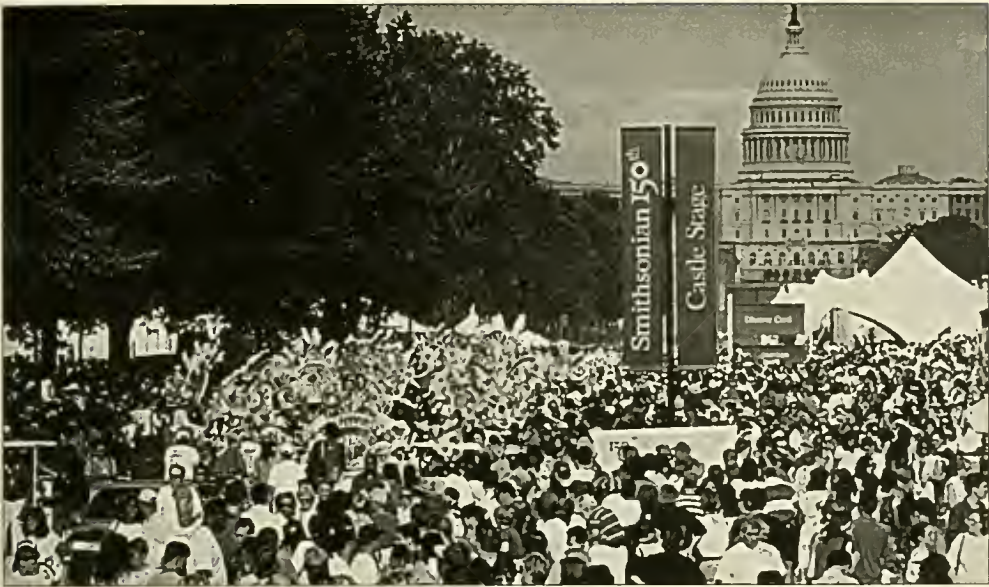
performances were acted, the Festival emphasized authenticity — the presence and participation of the living people who were active and exemplary practitioners of the represented communities and traditions. Whereas living history was "scripted," Festival folks were encouraged to speak for themselves, in dialogue with each other, scholars, and the visiting public. The power of the Festival was that the presentations were legitimated by the authority of the Smithsonian, occurred in proximity to the national museums, and were located in symbolically potent space, at a symbolically loaded time.

The Festival has become a model of cultural representation and brokerage that has been imitated, analyzed, lauded, and criticized. A number of books raise historical and ethical issues about the nature of the Festival. In combining and crossing such categories as education and entertainment, scholarship and service, the authentic and the artificial, celebration and examination, the Festival is a genre that can be misunderstood and misconstrued. Existing as part of the Smithsonian's museum complex, the Festival has been called "a living museum without walls" and "a living cultural exhibit." It has also been spoken of as human zoo, cultural theme park, ritual of rebellion, tool of the state, and national block party.

As for the relationship between the representation of culture at the Festival and in the museums, Dean Anderson, a former Smithsonian Under Secretary, said, "Whereas the museum is a noun, the Festival is a verb." Others moving between the Natural History Museum and the Festival have found the former staid, grown up, propertied, and static, the latter interactive, youthful, and alive. If the Festival is regarded as a youthful outpost of ethnography at the Smithsonian, it became so, not by prior design, but rather because the people organizing and developing the Festival were interested in a particular type of cultural study and presentation.

Differences in orientation between the Festival and the Smithsonian's Department of Anthropology are instructive. The Festival has always had a strong interest in representing American culture as well as that from around the world, whereas the Department of Anthropology has not dealt much with Europe and non-tribal America. The Festival is strongly attuned to how people create culture in their everyday life today; it does not have the time depth of the museum. Like Anthropology, the Festival deals with ethnic and tribal cultures, but it goes beyond those forms to occupational,





*The Smithsonian's 150th anniversary "Birthday Party on the Mall" used the Festival model to show the vitality of the Institution. Museum and program pavilions featuring scientists, curators, and educators were combined with "encore" performances by people and groups who have worked closely with the Smithsonian. Here a Bahamian*

*Junkanoo rush-out heads down the Mall, recreating their rush two years earlier at the Festival — an event that stimulated cultural, scholarly, and educational efforts in The Bahamas.*

Photo by J. Tinsley, courtesy Smithsonian Institution



*Stephen Weil, senior scholar and former Deputy Director of the Hirshhorn Museum, helps present a young collector to the public at the Birthday Party on the Mall.*

Photo by T. Heilemann, courtesy Smithsonian Institution

associational, and institutional cultures. The Festival is focused on expressive traditions, whereas the Department has a four-field approach (joining ethnography with physical anthropology, archaeology, and linguistics) deeply rooted in its history. The Festival is interested more in culture *performed* than culture *exhibited*; it concentrates on illustrating or demonstrating cultural processes rather than on acquiring or collecting things; and the Festival has always valued negotiated, brokered, dialogically formulated representations above more monological scholarly publications and products.

Numerous events — from the Black Family Reunion to the L.A. Festival, from the Festival of Michigan Folklife to a national festival for India, from a festival of Hawaiian culture to an indigenous culture and development festival in Ecuador, from the "America's Reunion on the Mall" festival for a presidential inaugural to "Southern Crossroads," a festival of the American South for Atlanta's Olympic Games — have drawn upon the Smithsonian's approach to show that culture is vital and alive, made and remade every day amongst people from every type of community, and aptly shared with fellow human beings. Indeed, even the venerable old Smithsonian drew upon the Festival as a model for the

production of its own 150th anniversary celebration in a mile-long Birthday Party held for some 600,000 on the National Mall August 10-11, 1996. Some of the Smithsonian ancestors might have been quite surprised, but I think ultimately heartened, to learn that the Festival genre, historically used to represent others, had become a successful means of representing ourselves.

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*Dr. Richard Kurin is Director of the Smithsonian's Center for Folklife Programs & Cultural Studies, which produces the Festival. He first worked on the Festival in 1976. He is the author of *Reflections of a Culture Broker: A View from the Smithsonian* (Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997) and was awarded the Secretary's Gold Medal for Exceptional Service to the Smithsonian in 1996.*

**AUTHOR'S NOTE:** An earlier version of this article was presented at the meetings of the American Anthropological Association in December and published in *Anthro Notes*, vol. 19, no. 1.



# Cane Brakes, High Water, Drought: The Mississippi Delta

Tom Rankin

*"This land, this  
South ... with  
woods for game  
and streams for  
fish and deep  
rich soil for  
seed...."*

*—from Go Down, Moses  
by William Faulkner*

Support for this program comes from the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians, the Mississippi Arts Commission, The Recording Industries Music Performance Trust Funds, and The Rhythm & Blues Foundation.

The term Delta is used in different ways up and down the Mississippi River. But when most people, especially those not from the region, say Mississippi Delta, they refer to the area formed by the alluvial flood plain of the lower Mississippi River and incorporating parts of four states, a region distinguished by both geographic and cultural characteristics. From the flat, rich land of west Tennessee through parts of Arkansas, Mississippi, and Louisiana, the entire region owes many of its cultural traditions to the Mississippi River and the many smaller rivers that permeate the area, some with names reflective of the Native Americans who first settled there or other groups who came later: the Obion, Hatchie, and Loosahatchie in Tennessee; the Yazoo, Tallahatchie, Sunflower, and Coldwater in Mississippi; the Arkansas, White, and St. Francis in Arkansas; the Ouachita and Black in Louisiana. Entire communities, operating with varying codes and customs based on indigenous traditions, have evolved around the region's rivers and bayous: from the commercial fisherfolk, trappers, and towboat workers, whose houses often cluster near major rivers, landings, and levees; to African-American ministers and their congregations, who

wade into the waters to baptize believers "the old way"; to the privileged planters' sons, whose membership in the exclusive hunting clubs along the river is bestowed by the accident of birth. The rivers are imbued with personal, local, and regional symbolism and significance.

Acknowledged as the birthplace of the blues, the home of "King Cotton," America's "last wilderness," and the source of a variety of uniquely American art forms, the Delta is often discussed and portrayed as a powerful, evocative place. The Delta "shines like a national guitar" to singer/songwriter Paul Simon, and to Mississippi writer Eudora Welty the Delta is a place where "most of the world seemed sky ... seemed strummed, as though it were an instrument and something had touched it." Indeed, a great deal has touched the Mississippi Delta to form it and to distinguish it from other regions. Much of its distinctiveness has been attributed to its "Southern-ness." Pulitzer Prize-winning novelist Richard Ford called the Mississippi Delta "the South's South." "The Deepest South ... the heart of Dixie.... Nowhere are ante-bellum conditions so nearly preserved as in the Yazoo Delta," observed Rupert Vance in 1935, as he contrasted the living conditions and lifestyles of the Mississippi Delta's planter elite with those of its illiterate and impoverished Black masses. Certainly one of the common legacies of the entire Mississippi Delta region is the stark contrasts evident there. Just as the Delta can be rich and fertile, it can also be poor and desolate; just as one can hear the powerful chords of humanity's best music there, one can also witness Delta nights of terror and inequality; just as natural resources are abundant, so can everyday life be harsh. But in each of the extremes is a powerful culture.

Truly few places exhibit a more striking example of the affinity and interaction between humans and nature than the Mississippi Delta. Today's Delta is still largely rural and agricultural, its economy very closely tied to the land. With its vast expanses of sky, one can actually watch the weather, as clouds gather and boil across one horizon and the sun or moon blazes brilliantly on the other. In spite of a century of clearing, cultivating, draining, and land leveling, the region retains its primitive swamps, bayous, and cypress brakes.

In *Go Down, Moses* William Faulkner described the Yazoo-Mississippi Delta:

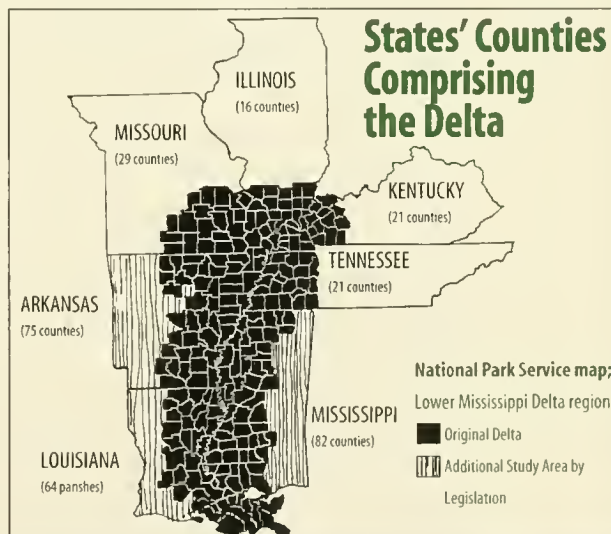
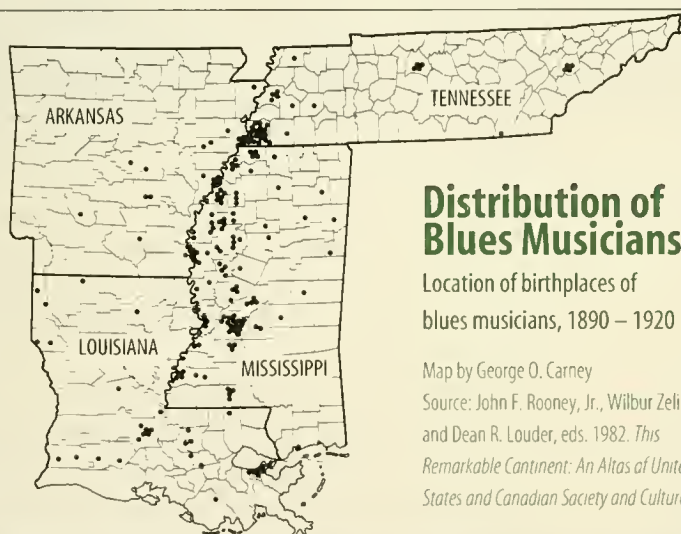
In the beginning, it was virgin — to the west, along the Big Black River, the alluvial swamps threaded by black, almost motionless bayous and



# Mapping the Mississippi Delta



**Region Represented in  
The Mississippi Delta at  
the Festival of American  
Folklife**



impenetrable with cane and buckvine and cypress  
and ash and oak and gum.... This land, this South  
... with woods for game and streams for fish and

deep rich soil for seed and lush springs to sprout  
it and long summers to mature it and serene falls  
to harvest it and short mild winters for men and



## The Mississippi Delta

animals.... That's the trouble with this country. Everything, weather, all, hangs on too long. Like our rivers, our land: opaque, slow, violent; shaping and creating the life of man in its implacable and brooding image.

Greenville, Mississippi, native and newspaper editor Hodding Carter, Sr.,

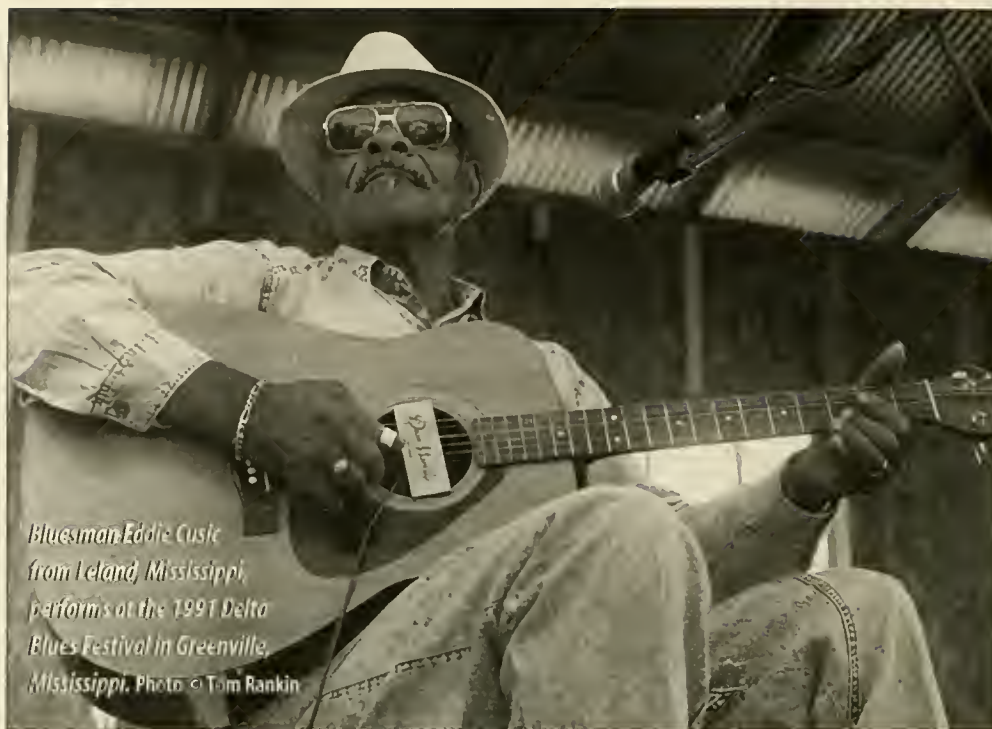
characterized the region in his 1942 book on the Mississippi: "The Lower Mississippi's valley is a precarious Eden, which the river has fashioned and caused to be populated because of its promise. It is a promise beset by ordeal and still only partly fulfilled."

Carter also echoed Faulkner when he wrote about the historical legacies of the fertile, overgrown landscape:

Go quietly at dawn into those brakes of cypress and cane and cottonwood and water oak. Paddle beside the banks of the Mississippi's bayous and false lakes which once were part of its channel. You will find something of what the Spaniard, the Frenchman, and the Englishman swore and marveled at: the disordered lavishness of a wilderness sprung from the earth droppings of a river's uncounted years.

Full of pestilence — malaria, typhoid, and yellow fever — and unyielding and unnavigable terrain, the Delta remained a frontier wilderness until well after the Civil War. This is a fact that the familiar Delta stereotype doesn't include.

More recent accounts still highlight the Mississippi Delta's place as a veritable wilderness, in part. Thomas Foti, an ecologist with the Arkansas Natural Heritage Commission, described the lower White River as a "special place ... still the wildest region of the Delta." According to Foti, in addition to supporting a core of committed houseboat dwellers who work on it, the White River also hosts the "only indigenous black bear population in Arkansas, the only productive eagle nest in



*Bluesman Eddie Cusic from Ieland, Mississippi, performs at the 1991 Delta Blues Festival in Greenville, Mississippi. Photo © Tom Rankin*

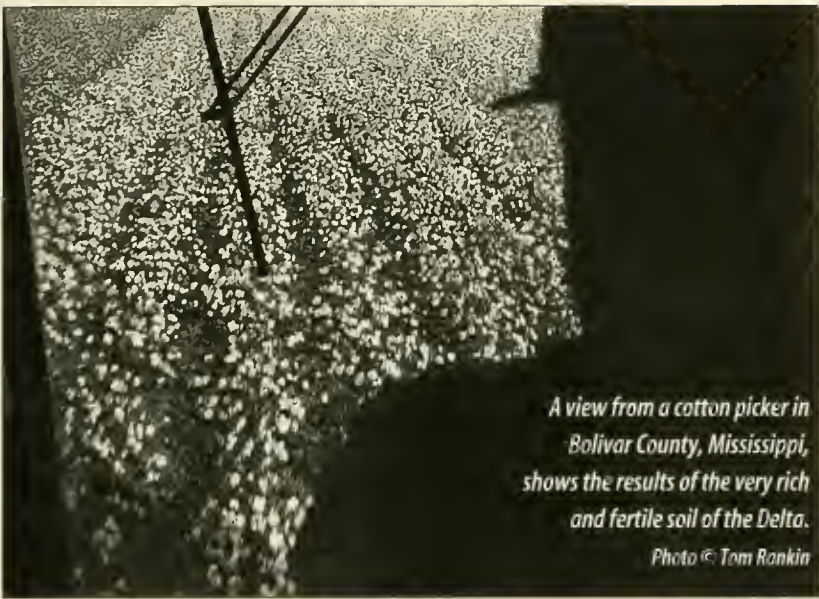
the state." H. F. Gregory, a Louisiana folklorist, has written that many older residents make a distinction between the "front lands" and "back lands" of the Louisiana Delta, the "back lands" being the wilder, natural, swampy landscapes. "The back lands remained as swamplands," explained Gregory, "refuges for animals, birds, and people displaced from the plantation areas." Agricultural interests began draining the back lands in the 1970s, changing the environment. Gregory argued, to the point that "today only in game preserves can one see the original landscapes."

It was the environmental wonder and agricultural richness of the region that led a diversity of cultural groups to settle there. For instance, in the 1890s several plantation owners fretted over the declining work force and looked to Italy for a solution. Arkansas's 11,000-acre Sunnyside Plantation brought Italians to be sharecroppers. Arkansas planters similarly brought Chinese to the Delta. Most contracted to work for five years, many relocating or changing occupations after being liberated from their farming obligations.

Though the largest percentages of residents are Black African Americans and White Anglo-Saxons, the region also has substantial populations of people of Jewish, Chinese, Lebanese, Syrian, Italian, Greek, and Mexican ancestry. One can observe small Chinese groceries in many Delta towns, the large presence of Italian families and traditions throughout Mississippi and Arkansas, and the wonderful assimilation of ethnic foodways such as Delta tamales. Probably brought to the Delta by Mexican



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*A view from a cotton picker in Bolivar County, Mississippi, shows the results of the very rich and fertile soil of the Delta.*  
Photo © Tom Rankin



*One of the few remaining traditional Southern occupational crafts in the Delta is the making of gourd or tiered wooden birdhouses. Atop tall poles near farm buildings, they lure purple martins, which every day eat their weight in mosquitoes.* Photo © Maida Owens



*A church official stakes out the baptismal area in the Ouachita River in Monroe, Louisiana.*  
Photo © Susan Roach

farm workers who came to earn a living in the cotton fields, tamales now are made, sold, and eaten by Whites and Blacks, farm laborers and plantation owners.

With the growing settlement of the area, the landscape began to change, most drastically with the stripping away of the hardwood forests and the drainage of the swamps. Slaves were used for the cruel and dangerous work of swamp drainage, until holders of large acreage refused to risk valuable slave property and began hiring Irish

immigrants instead. For a brief time during the Reconstruction period, convict labor was used to clear thousands of acres, though this scandal-ridden lease system was outlawed in 1890. Later, African-American laborers accomplished most of the difficult task of clearing the forests. William Ferris in *Blues from the Delta* quoted blues singer Jasper Love talking about his work in the 1930s. "Times was so tough we couldn't cut it with a knife, man," recalled Love. "Plowing four mules.... Hitting them stumps and that plow kicking you all in the stomach. I had to get up around three in the morning by a bell. The bell rang two times. First time you get up. The second time, be at the barn. Not on your way, at the barn."

The fertility of the Delta has led to some pretty harsh working conditions. Wiley Cochral, who was born in 1925, grew up as the son of a sharecropper, working with his father, mother, and siblings, farming on halves. By the fall of 1947 — thirty-three years after moving to the Delta — his father was able to buy 100 acres of land and an old house in Stephenville in Sunflower County. A White man, Cochral's explanation about sharecropping and his feeling toward the arrangement speak for many who farm as sharecroppers in the Mississippi Delta:

Farming on halves, you give the boss man half of the crop to start with. You work it, then you take the other half. Whatever you owe him, you pay it out of your half. Not his half. His half is give to him. Automatically. Your half, whatever

you owe him. If you owe him sixty dollars, you pay him the sixty dollars out of your half. And a lots of times that half, you didn't get your half when you come to that. Cause they didn't give it to you. I don't know how that worked. They would say you got so and so. They could add anything they want. And so that's the way it was. No, they wasn't always honest. They wasn't no way in the world. Tom, there wasn't no way in the world for



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them to be honest. People finally realized. Somebody got smart. It wasn't right to start with. They figured you owed him half of it.

You want to know the truth about it, at the end of the year, the Boss man gave you what he wanted you to have. The big man bought this land. They give nine dollars an acre to fourteen. That's all they give. And they bought it. And then the slaves. I've always been a slave myself. I call myself one of them. Everybody was slaves that worked in the damn fields.

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Many sharecroppers, including Cochral's father James, initially had come to the region to clear timber. Logging operations continued until the early decades of this century.

As the powerful Mississippi River cuts through this peculiarly American region, it both gives and takes away. Formed by regular flooding, the region owes its existence to the building of levees, yet another testimony to the legacy of work in the Delta. Still, however, the region sees flooding regularly, floods that are rarely matched in the devastation they bring. Bluesman Charlie Patton, once a resident of Dockery Plantation just east of Cleveland, Mississippi, chronicled the Delta experience with a poetry rivaled by no one. His "High Water Blues," a song depicting the vicious 1927 flood, asserted to all the reality of life in the rich alluvial plain of the Delta:

Lord, the whole 'round country, Lord! river has overflowed

You know I can't be stayin' here; I'm — gotta go where it's high, boy!

I was goin' to the hilly country, 'fore they got me barred.

Just a few years later, in 1930, Charlie Patton entered the studio to record another lament of nature's wrath, "Dry Well," a song that depicted the 1930 drought. Seen together the two blues songs suggest the ebbs and flows of the Delta's past and present, the pattern by which natural forces have created a rich and diverse region that has been both blessed by wealth and powerful expression, and also burdened by human suffering and despair.

Way down in Lula, (hundred an' ten heat?)

Lord the drought come an' caught us an' parched up all the trees.

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# At Home in the Delta

Deborah Boykin

*While the fields of the  
Delta offer little  
contrast, the same  
cannot be said of the  
lives and homes of its  
people.... Still, there  
are similarities across  
class and race lines,  
and nowhere are these  
similarities more  
evident than in the  
gardens, homes, and  
kitchens of the Delta.*

The Mississippi Delta is a region that depends, first and last, on growing things. Most of the land, and much of the time and energy of the people, are given over to crops, whether cotton or catfish. Mile after mile of fields stretch between small towns with names like Panther Burn, Alligator, and Louise. Interminable plant rows or flat, shimmering catfish ponds extend from road to horizon. Turnrows — the lanes of hard-packed dirt where drivers turn cultivators or cotton pickers — are all that separate one field from another. The landscape is vast, symmetrical, and hypnotic. From the deep greens of summer to the browns and greys of harvest time, the fields change only with the seasons.

While the fields of the Delta offer little contrast, the same cannot be said of the lives and homes of its people. Wealth and poverty exist side by side, with very little middle ground. Planters whose elegant homes are surrounded by formal gardens may have neighbors who live in weathered frame houses with swept yards and tire planters. Still, there are similarities across class and race lines, and nowhere are these similarities more evident than in the gardens, homes, and kitchens of the Delta.

There are some distinctions to be drawn between the gardens in town and those in the country, as well as between the spaces created by Black gardeners and those of their White counterparts. Flower gardens in town are more likely to be formal, for instance, and confined to back yards. These gardeners plant flowers to use in arrangements indoors as well as for enjoyment outdoors. Rural gardens more often have flowering plants in the front yard and vegetables in the back. Rural Black gardeners are more apt to extend their garden space to the front porch, using a variety of containers. These are stylistic variations for the most part, though. The function of gardens in the Delta is much the same whoever plants them.

For most people in the Delta, the garden is an extension of living space. Summer heat is completely democratic, sending planters, field workers, and merchants in search of shade and a cool breeze. In the days before air conditioning, they would all seek refuge from the heat in their gardens and on their porches. Even now, the warmer months find many Delta families taking meals, sitting and visiting, or entertaining guests in their gardens.

Gardens in the Delta tend to be lush, tightly planted, and enclosed. Sometimes the enclosure is a clipped privet hedge. Formal gardens may be surrounded by hairpin wire fencing or homemade picket. Sometimes the homemade



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*In Southern Black folklore, the bottle tree was a means of protecting the home by trapping evil spirits within the colorful bottles. Though scarce today, bottle trees are still created for their artistic appeal. Photo by William Ferris, University of Mississippi Special Collections*

fencing is more eccentric, incorporating a variety of found materials. In any case, the purpose of the fencing is to enclose the space while allowing air to circulate. Gardenias, four o'clocks, honeysuckle, and magnolias provide fragrance in the late afternoon and evening. Broad-leafed plants like elephant ears, cannas, and ginger may grow in beds alongside ferns and castor beans. Other plants are placed in containers, perhaps as a nod to the unpredictable weather of the region: a container can be moved under cover when there's too much rain or closer to a hose during a summer dry spell. More than likely, though, Delta gardeners use containers and other items — functional, decorative, or both — to create a space that reflects a personal aesthetic.

The more formal the garden, the more common are matching containers, such as urns made of molded con-



*Yard decor in the Delta often shows creative improvisation with mundane objects to break the monotony of the landscape. Photo by Felder Rushing*



*Hazel Dailey from Columbia, Louisiana, works with the insert to the pressure cooker she uses in canning produce. Photo by Sylvia Frantzen*

crete or purchased half-barrels. Decorative pieces may include concrete statuary, often figures of small animals. Lawn furniture usually consists of a matched set and is made from wrought iron and painted.

Other gardeners like to improvise. They create planters from old enamelware, paint buckets, or tires. They decorate their gardens with painted plywood figures, whirligigs, or painted rocks. In rural yards and gardens, larger, free-standing decorations such as bottle trees break the monot-



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ony of the landscape. For example, travelers on Highway 61 approaching Ergemont, Mississippi, are sometimes surprised to see several large, welded-metal dinosaurs on the horizon. They are the work of a local resident who made them "to give people driving through something to look at."

Many Delta gardeners give as much thought to the aesthetics of their yard and garden space as they do to their homes, probably because the two are inextricable. Wedding receptions, barbecues, family reunions, parties, and other social events in the Delta are very likely to take place outside. And there is no shortage of social life in the Delta. Entertaining is considered an art form, and Delta women, both Black and White, absorb a complicated set of customs and recipes from their relatives and neighbors as they grow up. Delta homemakers take pride in a tradition of hospitality that many see as having roots in plantation life.

Three Delta cookbooks provide some insights. *Gour-*

*met of the Delta*, first published in 1958, is a collection of recipes prepared by the Women's Auxiliaries of St. John's Episcopal Church in Leland, Mississippi, and St. Paul's in nearby Hollandale. The introduction describes the Delta as a region settled

by the sons of wealthy planters of Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, and South Carolina. They came ... to further their fortunes in new land. From these landed, cultured people descend many of the present Delta inhabitants.... Many have known the hospitality and graciousness of Delta hostesses.... It is our hope ... in compiling the recipes of our own and those of our many friends for discriminating hostesses everywhere that we, in our small way, will be the means of help to preserve one of the traditions of the 'Delta Way of Life.'

In 1972, the Junior Charity League of Monroe, Louisi-

## Tamales

2 cups of Minsa (*masa harina*)  
1/3 cup vegetable shortening or lard  
2 Tbs. cooking oil  
5 lbs. meat (pork, beef, or chicken)  
2 cups broth  
6 dried red chili peppers  
8 oz. corn shucks  
1 tsp. cumin  
1 tsp. black pepper  
Salt to taste

16 oz. mixed vegetables (onions, bell pepper, celery, shallots, green onions), fresh or frozen

**Servings:** Approximately 25 tamales

**To prepare the corn husks:** Place husks in hot water and soak until pliable. Remove any silks and wash husks thoroughly. Keep the shucks that have split, as two small pieces can be overlapped to make one.

**To prepare masa dough:** In a bowl, mix together the *masa harina*, vegetable shortening or lard, salt, and 1 1/2 to 2 cups of lukewarm meat broth (the leftover reserve from cooking the meat).

**To prepare filling:** Put cooking oil and meat half covered with water in a skillet. Cook until the meat is soft enough to shred. Meat may be prepared ahead of time or the day before. Using broth from the cooked meat, soak the dry chili peppers until they are

reconstituted. Purée peppers in blender, adding more broth if necessary. Add cumin and black pepper to the puréed peppers. Mix shredded meat and chili sauce.

**To make tamales:** Remove the shucks from water and place on a table or in your hands. Spread dough down the center, then spoon in a strip of filling (about 2 tablespoons). Roll the sides of the shucks to close the filling completely within the dough. Tie the ends or fold. Place in a steamer rack above water in a large pot. Place the wrapped tamales loosely to allow the steam to circulate. Steam for 45 minutes to an hour, or until *masa* dough doesn't stick to shuck. Test the tamale in the center for doneness.

—Recipe by **Irma Rodriquez**, Ferriday, Louisiana

## Cheese Straws

1/2 lb. butter  
1 lb. cheddar cheese, 1/2 sharp, 1/2 medium  
3 cups plain flour, sifted  
2 tsp. salt  
2 tsp. red pepper  
2 tsp. baking powder

Cream butter and grated cheese. Add dry ingredients and beat until very soft and creamy. Squeeze through cookie press into 4" lengths on ungreased cookie sheet. Bake at 350° for 13 to

15 minutes, checking that they do not burn.

—Recipe from **Mrs. John Gannon**, Greenville, Mississippi

## Southern-Style Sweet Potato Pie

10" unbaked pie shell  
1 medium-sized sweet potato  
1/2 cup real butter  
1 1/2 cups sugar

1 Tbs. flour  
2 tsp. vanilla extract  
3 eggs  
7 oz. can evaporated milk

Bake potato at 350° for 20 minutes (or until done). Remove the skin, and while the potato is hot, mix it with the butter, flour, and vanilla. Add milk, sugar, and eggs and mix well. Pour into the pie shell and bake at 350° for approximately 45 minutes.

**Servings:** 6

—Recipe by **Lucinda Cusic**, Leland, Mississippi



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ana, looked to similar roots in the introduction to *The Cotton Country Collection*:

The plantations along the river and the bayous were almost entirely self-sustaining, raising their own food, making their own clothes, building their homes from the materials in the forests. Plantation chatelaines and their cooks using the unusually lavish gifts of nature and the ideas of many root sources developed a style of cooking distinctive in its heritage and delicious in its nature.

This tradition of hospitality transcends stereotypes of planter aristocracy and the "Old South." Kathy Starr's *Soul of Southern Cooking*, published in the late 1980s, offers the perspective of an African-American homemaker in the Delta.

It was a must that simple foods make a delicious meal. My grandmama, even today, can tell you stories of how proud she felt of her sister, Malinda, who could walk up out of the cotton field, find company sitting on her steps, take a shelf of nothing and make the best meal you ever tasted. There's a long tradition of making good food out of nothing in my family, who have lived in the Mississippi Delta since it was first settled and cleared for growing cotton in the mid-1800s.

The kitchens of the Delta, like the gardens, are similar in many respects. Women in the Delta take pride in setting a generous table and have definite ideas about what is appropriate for a given type of meal. Table settings may vary according to custom and income, but whether a table is set with heirloom silver or an assortment of plastic containers, there will be an abundance of food. Kathy Starr writes about her grandmother's Christmas dinners in Hollandale:

The holiday table is never considered complete if you can't fill up at least one separate table with food [including] baked turkey, baked duck, baked ham, dressing with giblet gravy, potato salad, cranberry sauce, chow-chow, mustard and turnip greens, corn bread, yeast rolls, coconut cake, jelly cake, caramel cake, pecan pies, sweet potato pies, ambrosia and fruit cake.

The women from St. Paul's Episcopal would agree. Their menu for a Christmas dinner includes "baked turkey with oyster dressing, rice with giblet gravy, eggplant casserole, English peas, candied sweet potatoes, cranberry jelly, a tray of homemade pickles and relishes, hot rolls, ambrosia, pecan pie and white fruit cake."

These Delta women of different generations and different races share similar attitudes toward homemaking. Their gardens and kitchens are characterized by abundance. Flower beds and planters are crowded with blooms, tables are loaded with food, decorative elements range from flower arrangements in formal living rooms to bottle trees in rural yards. Much of the social life in the Delta, from garden receptions to house parties to fish fries, is centered in the home. Many of the traditions associated with homemaking in the Delta may appear to have their roots in plantation stereotypes, but when foodways, gardening traditions, and the aesthetics of homemaking are compared across class and race lines, common traits emerge. The lush gardens and highly decorated homes in the Delta embody a need to create a personal space in an impersonal landscape. Traditions and conventions related to homemaking offer a predictable framework for a society in which much depends on the unpredictability of nature.

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# “Willing to Take a Risk”: Working in the Delta

Susan Roach



Long-time press caller John Warner of Rayville, Louisiana, shows a cotton press that compacted loose cotton into large bales until the 1980s. The

complex operation of the machinery and large crew was coordinated by a press caller to pace the work and prevent injuries. Photo © Gene Cloinger

Dictator and definer of the Delta, the Mississippi River provides the fertile flood plain that makes possible the majority of traditional, regional occupations in this predominantly rural area. Now open and flat with blurred timber on the horizon, the Delta landscape with its resources of rich “buckshot” dirt, waterways, timber, and gas features farming- and river-related occupations, which exhibit a complex of techniques, customs, and modes of expressive behavior typical of occupational folklife: raising cotton, soybeans, rice, cattle, and catfish; crop dusting; commercial fishing; lock operations; and riverboat work. Floods, chemicals from the air and water, insects from mosquitoes to boll weevils, dangerous, expensive technology, and debt all pose risks to life and livelihood and are echoed in Delta occupational narratives.

The river itself gave rise to major occupations such as riverboat work and river and flood control. Riverboat work — earlier on steamboats and on today’s towboats — has always required a wealth of informally learned occupational knowledge: of complex, traditional jargon and operating techniques associated with the river; of specific boats and their parts; of duties of each job; and of riverboat crafts. For example, a deckhand makes a “possum” — a braided rope bumper — to cushion the boat when it docks or ties up to a lock wall. Sometimes living on the boat for thirty days at a time, riverboat workers also share stories, songs, and jokes about river work (Sandmel 1990:10-11). Lock and dam operators, who maintain appropriate water levels in river channels, may share riverboat lore and learn much of their job traditionally.

Because of the threats of flooding and malaria, the flat, rich flood plain along the Mississippi and its tributaries came to settlement and farming later than the adjacent areas. Termed buckshot because it dried into hard black pellets — and gumbo when it was wet, because of its stickiness — Delta topsoil, laid down by centuries of flooding, was “such perfect soil for raising cotton that people considered it worth the risk long before flood control was possible” (Bolsterli 1991:5). In the early 19th century Anglo-American pioneer farmers and slaves settled in the river bottoms. Towns became centers for the lumber industry, which riverboats and railroads helped grow, until no virgin timber remained (Whayne and Gatewood 1993:216). Jewish, Syrian, and Lebanese immigrants entered the Delta mainly as peddlers and later became merchants with businesses such as dry goods. To replace slave labor after the Civil War, planters brought in Italian and Chinese workers. After World War II, these groups opened small groceries and restaurants in such Arkansas towns as Helena, Blytheville, Pine Bluff, and Holly Grove; and in Ferriday, Vidalia, and Monroe, Louisiana. Some Irish also came as laborers and tenant farmers and were quickly assimilated. In 1878, Germans from the Midwest came to the Delta and brought their farming technology; one of the larger groups, led by a Lutheran minister, purchased a 7,747-acre plantation near Stuttgart, Arkansas, which would become the center of the Arkansas rice industry (Whayne and Gatewood 1993:153, 165-66).

Worked by slaves before the Civil War and by share-





*Crop dusters fly low, trying "to get down to where the wheels touch the tops of the cotton" to minimize chemical drift, lessening the chance that the chemicals will fall on the wrong crops. Photo © Maida Owens*

croppers and paid laborers after the war, large tracts of cotton grew even larger with the advent of mechanized, corporate farms. Delta planters traditionally have taken mainly a supervisory role: giving orders, arranging loans, doing the paperwork, absorbing the profit and loss, risk and worry. However, some planters also grew up working in the fields, plowing, chopping, and picking cotton. Along with their work in the home, many Delta women and children also did farm work. Liddy Aiken, an African-American woman from Wheatly, Arkansas, summed up the work ethic in 1938 when she was sixty-two: "We farm. I done everything could be thought of on a farm. I ploughed some less than five years ago.... I learnt to work. I learnt my boys to go with me to the field and not be ashamed to sweat. It's healthy. They all works" (Wayne and Gatewood 1993:141).

Lake Providence, Louisiana, planter Grady Brown relates the daily routine of his boyhood on his father's Panola cotton plantation and the typical changes wrought on these traditions by growing mechanization:

When we grew up, we were able to walk behind a plow at probably six or seven.... We were tall enough to reach up and hold the handles.... Daddy gave us all a mule and plow and put three or four of us in the field, and we just plowed the same cotton field every day. We had ninety-five tenant families on the farm.... They used to ring a big bell up on the mule barn and all the hands would be at the barn catching their mules.... They all came to work with an old syrup bucket, and that was their dinner. They would carry some peas and what they called hoe

cake.... This went on for four or five years, and then the tractors came about the starting of the war, 1942-44, and then we switched over to tractors, and the first year we ... lost forty families. They migrated to Dallas, or Chicago, or California. And when I came home in 1961, we had about twelve or fifteen families living on the farm.

Cotton also generated work in cotton gins, compresses, and crop dusting. Illustrating the importance of versatility and on-the-job learning, John Warner, from Rayville, Louisiana, began as a water boy at a local compress in 1937 and advanced to calling the press from the 1950s to the 1970s, when he was finally named foreman — the first African American in the region to hold the position. Undoubtedly his promotion to foreman resulted from his twenty years as the press caller, when he would shout instructions and sing blues work songs to pace the monotonous yet dangerous activity of the compress. These songs were patterned after the work songs from the cotton fields and prison chain gangs. Warner recounts the typical learning process of such jobs: "The older men — they'll watch you, and they find out you want to do different things. They would always take the time out and show you and tell you how to take advantage and how to do certain things." However, the same men might play tricks on inexperienced workers; Warner remembers someone being sent to the office to fetch a cotton saw — a nonexistent tool. Such joking behavior is probably still found around today's computer-operated compresses.

In the early 1900s, mechanization and larger farm acreage turned Delta farmers to a more efficient method of



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fertilization and pest control — crop dusting, or aerial application, the current professional's term. Having been fascinated by flying in his childhood, Owen Dale Holland and his older brother, from Jonesville, Louisiana, started dusting their own crops and later developed a family crop dusting business. Crop dusters also learn the specialized language concerning equipment, techniques, and the different jobs of their trade in a traditional manner. And they, too, tell and suffer through jokes. A crop duster for forty-two years, Charlie Davis recalls being teased at his wedding about his survival chances: "When we got married, the preacher asked me what did I do. I said I was in crop dusting. He told my wife that the life span of a crop duster was two years."

The public regards crop dusters with some ambivalence. On the one hand, they are "crazy nuts" taking risks and putting poisonous chemicals into the environment. On the other hand, as Arthur Woolson puts it, "You're almost next to God to those farmers when you're dusting those crops, because upon your efforts depend his success. If you fail, he fails. If you win, he wins." Holland explains the modern farmer's plight and the complex, symbiotic relationship of the two occupations, justifying why the crop duster is "willing to take a risk":

Most of the people don't understand to begin with why you are aerial applying. It is simply because they have no background knowledge of farming. They still want to see a farmer in overalls and a pitchfork and a straw hat. Today, with finances and economics, you do now or you don't get it done. You've got to have someone that is qualified to do the job. Farmers are working under a lot of pressure themselves these days. We know that; we have farmed before. And a farmer comes here with that look on his face; you know he is serious. You don't play with him much; you get very serious with him, and you deal with him from that point on because of his problems. When he comes to get the airplane, he's got to have help, and you know that, so you take that into consideration.



*Farm crew in a cotton field, Sunflower County, Mississippi. Photo © Tom Rankin*

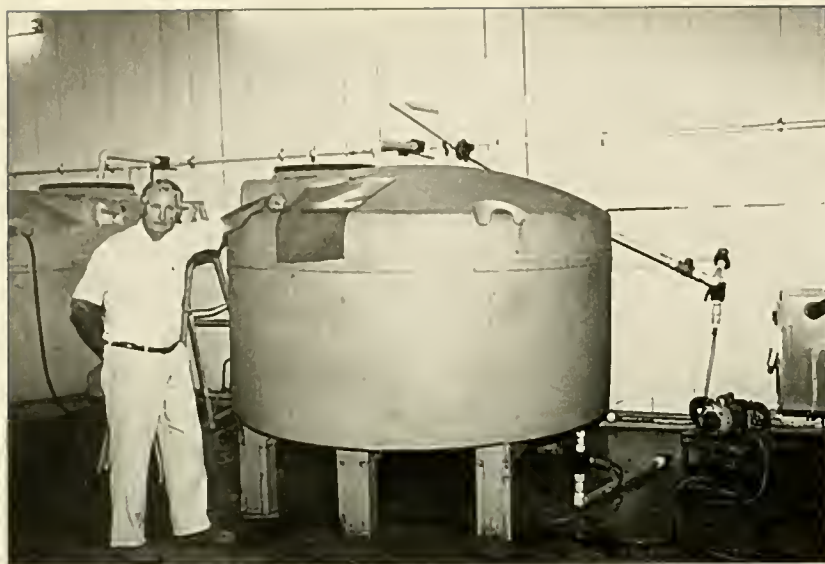
Crop dusting, which in Tallulah, Louisiana, grew into Delta Airlines, also is important for soybeans and rice, which diversified Delta farming during World War II. The popularity and higher price of soybeans caused many farmers to plant even more soybeans during the fifties and sixties; this brought heavy dirt-moving machinery operators from the Midwest, including Mennonites, to level the land further. Many Mennonites such as the community near Lake Providence, Louisiana, stayed in the region, thus changing the cultural landscape as well.

While the flattened land eased cultivation and irrigation, it also increased drainage and flood problems. Flooding is a periodic problem in the backwater areas of rivers which run into the Mississippi. Many stories about floods concern destruction of crops, homes, and businesses, and traditions of moving people and livestock to higher ground. Since early farming days, livestock — especially mules and cattle — has been important for the Delta farmer. In some areas range land was open, and livestock even grazed on the levees. However, when floods threatened, local levee boards hired levee guards to watch for drifting debris, water seepage, and sand boils. As an eighteen-year-old guard in 1927, Myles Smith recalls an experience he had one night returning to St. Joseph, Louisiana:

Just as we got into town, a mule had bogged down in this levee right in front of the Masonic



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*G.T. "Bubba" Brown from Lake Providence, Louisiana, operates the Panola Pepper Sauce Plant on Panola Plantation. Produced on the plantation are the pepper sauce and other food*

*products, along with cotton and soybeans. Cattle are also raised on the land, illustrating the diversification on today's plantation.*

Photo © Susan Roach

Hall, and they was scared the levee was going to break right there, and everybody that could pack a sack was on that levee throwing sacks. I guess that mule's bones are still in that levee. He went down in there, and there was no way to get him out. They just put sacks in there on top of him....

That was a pretty rough night.

Today's farmers still maintain herds of cattle with little open range. Calling themselves ranchers, they manifest typical cowboy culture with some characteristics peculiar to the Delta, such as the use of Catahoula cur dogs for round-ups and herding cattle and free-ranging hogs. Stories about the breed's origins abound in the Delta: one says it is a hybrid of the red wolf and mastiffs brought by DeSoto's Spanish explorers in 1542, another traces the dog to the Natchez Indian tribe.

Traditionally, Delta farmers also risk huge debts — a recurring theme in narratives. As described by Margaret Bolsterli, the Delta plantation's peculiar method of farming after the Civil War was based on "indebtedness":

The landowner borrowed enough money from a bank to make a crop and then lent it to his sharecroppers, most of whom were black, against half the proceeds. He furnished seed, tools, animals to pull the plows, and guarantees of enough money to clothe, feed, and provide medical care for the sharecropper's family until

harvest, when the tenant would be obliged to give the landowner half the crop and then, out of his own half, pay back the money he had "drawn" for his and his family's expenses. The owner then would repay the bank for his "furnish" loan. If no money was made, the chain of indebtedness was carried over to the next year (1991:6-7).

Contemporary, often corporately owned plantations still rely on banks to finance expensive farm equipment such as \$100,000 cotton combines. Even buying the equipment secondhand at traditional farm-equipment auctions requires financing, according to West Monroe, Louisiana, auctioneer Ike Hamilton; he notes that farmers attending must already have arranged their bank loans before the bidding starts.

Also requiring a huge initial outlay is commercial catfish farming, begun in the 1960s and now flourishing in the Delta. It can cost \$200,000 – \$300,000 to build and stock eight fifteen-acre ponds, to which must be added an annual feed bill of \$150,000. Mississippian Larry Cochran, who farmed the same land as his father and grandfather, gave up row cropping his one thousand acres of cotton and soybeans in 1985 to raise catfish. "I remember my grandfather borrowing eighty thousand dollars at the bank for a year to buy his seed and get a few hundred acres of cotton planted. He could feed both his and my dad's families, and now it costs me sixty thousand dollars a month to feed twenty-three ponds of fish" (Schweid 1992:27).

Catfish farming has had a profound effect on commercial river fishing, which had thrived in earlier decades in the Delta and supplied fish to markets as far north as Chicago. While today's fishermen still brave the dangers of the river, their markets are decreasing, with only small, independent fish markets purchasing their catfish, buffalo, and gar. Traditional river crafts that have survived to support this endangered occupation include net making, often done by women, and boatbuilding. Commercial products and net companies such as the Jonesville, Louisiana, Champlin Net Co., which builds nets to order, have affected these crafts. Some fishermen who still knit their own hoop nets purchase commercial fiberglass hoops instead of making the older-style white oak hoops. Gill and trammel nets are more often purchased today, but wire catfish traps and wood slat traps are still made by fishermen such as Kenneth Hebert, who learned fishing crafts from his grandfather. Representing what is left of the





Lee's Chinese Grocery in Ferriday, Louisiana, is run by the second generation of the family. Chinese came to the Delta to work on the cotton plantations after the Civil War. With mechanization in the 1940s, many started small grocery stores that have been passed down in families. Photo © 1988, Don Sepulvado

subsistence farmers in the swamps of the Catahoula Lake area. Hebert also raises some wild hogs, hunts, traps, and makes related crafts such as hunting horns for calling dogs. Throughout the Delta, traditional Southern occupational crafts are sparse, reflecting the massive changes both on water and land. Still, gourd or tiered wooden birdhouses atop tall poles stand near farm buildings to lure purple martins, which eat their weight in mosquitoes every day. While the traditional yeoman farms and the aristocratic plantations have faded along with the steamboat, the water, mosquitoes, fertile soil, risks, and rewards remain.

**Susan Roach** received her Ph.D. in anthropology (folklore) from the University of Texas at Austin in 1986 and her M.A. and Ph.A. in English from the University of Arkansas. Active in documenting north Louisiana folk traditions since 1978, she has curated folk arts exhibitions, published on Louisiana regional folklife, and served as Co-Director of the Louisiana Delta Folklife Project and Field School. Associate Professor of English at Louisiana Tech University, she currently chairs the Louisiana Folklife Commission.

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*Roots of the Blues*. Atlantic SD1348.



# At Play in the Delta

Michael Luster

*There can be  
little doubt  
that the Delta  
offers a  
playing  
field rich in  
both irony  
and substance.*

In the Delta, folks find their pleasure where they can. They find it in country clubs and juke joints, in glitzy casinos and at kitchen tables, as well as at ball fields, in deer woods and fish camps. Much of that fun could be viewed as what Smithsonian historian Pete Daniel calls “domesticated violence,” and sometimes the domestication seems on the verge of reverting to the wild. Other times, the fun borders on a parody of gentility. But whether it be the debauched debutantes wading in the fountain at the Peabody Hotel in Memphis on New Year’s Eve, a deep blues juke joint rocking into the night just a stone’s throw from a civic festival, a supper-club “Tribute to the Blues” offered to the Symphony

League by a scatting jazzman, or an investment banker shopping at the mall’s Camouflage Shop for his next turkey shoot, there can be little doubt that the Delta offers a playing field rich in both irony and substance.

Perhaps most substantial is the Delta’s role as America’s musical Fertile Crescent, one of the places that gave the blues a reason to be and drove Blacks and Whites to rock. With equally good reason the blues might have spontaneously generated in Texas and the Carolina Piedmont in the years just before the last turn of the century, yet our first and best descriptions of it come from the Mississippi Delta. Blues historian Robert Palmer in his book *Deep Blues* tells how archaeologist Charles Peabody came to Coahoma County, Mississippi, in 1901 to study the great earthen mounds which the first Deltans built throughout the region as places of power, ritual, and refuge. Peabody hired local Black laborers to excavate the mounds and took note of the songs the men sang as they worked, and he wrote them up for the *Journal of American*

*Folklore*. That same year W. C. Handy, a brass band leader from Alabama, heard a young man playing his guitar and singing about going to where the “Southern cross the Dog”: Moorehead, Mississippi, where the two railroads cross at right angles. Handy said he thought it was “the weirdest music I ever heard.”

That weird music, blues, first reached the ears of most Americans beyond the Delta through the composed renditions of Handy and others, but it was with the advent of widespread recording in the 1920s that the original, real music began to be known. This largely rural blues was played on the house-party and juke-joint circuit by men like Son House, David “Honey Boy” Edwards, Robert Johnson, and some of them — like the young Muddy Waters — were also recorded, sometimes commercially, sometimes by song collectors like John and Alan Lomax. These rural blues performers both expressed and gave shape to a music which would prove resilient, influential, and infinitely adaptable. Most of these musicians were singing guitarists who were both heirs to the earlier string band tradition and precursors of things to come. Others were itinerant piano players like Roosevelt Sykes, Memphis Slim, Booker T. Laurey, and Mose Vinson, who worked in a variety of settings from lumber camps to bawdy houses, from night spots to an occasional worship service. Local sounds developed within the Delta often as the result of a single influential individual, and today many of these localized blues can still be heard in the work of Jack Owens of Bentonla, Mississippi, CeDell Davis of Pine Bluff, Arkansas, and Po’ Henry and Tookie of Rayville, Louisiana.

One of the most influential musicians from this region was Sonny Boy Williamson. Until his death in 1965, he played not only local dates but also on a radio program, “King Biscuit Time,” which still airs each day at noon on KFFA in Helena, Arkansas. Sonny Boy also made fine electrified blues recordings beginning in the late 1940s, first in Jackson, Mississippi, and then later in Chicago, where many of the Delta’s finest bluesmen would make their way. Most recorded for Chicago’s Chess Records, including Mississippians Muddy Waters and Howlin’ Wolf, Arkansas’s Robert Nighthawk, and Louisiana’s Little Walter. Each produced records which not only had an impact in Chicago and down-home in the Delta, but which also made the upper reaches of the national rhythm and blues charts in the years between 1948 and 1959. Most influential of all was B. B. King of Indianola,





*Henry Dorsey (right) and Wayne "Tookie" Collom of Rayville, Louisiana, have been performing acoustic Delta blues music together since 1986. Photo by Bob Kidd*

Mississippi, who began recording for the RPM and Kent labels of Los Angeles in 1951 and was still charting blues records as late as 1992.

King had come to prominence working as a musician and disc jockey in Memphis, (excepting Chicago) the Delta's capital city. As most of the Delta blues guitarists of the 1950s saw their national record sales drop off at the decade's end, a new group of stand-up vocalists began to come to the fore, including most notably King's sometime collaborator Bobby "Blue" Bland. This new movement in the blues was termed soul and combined blues with the phrasing, drama, and message-orientation of the gospel world. Some of its biggest stars like Aretha Franklin and the Staple Singers would come directly from the church and gospel world; others like Arkansas's Al Green and

Louisiana's Joe Simon would return to the church after years of secular work.

Growing from the twin strains of the amplified Delta blues of the 1950s and the churchified soul of the 1960s are the two sides of contemporary blues in the Delta today. One side, a continued development of the amplified singing guitarist, is exemplified by performers such as Arkansas's Son Seals, who records for Chicago's Alligator Records, and a number of artists associated with the Clarksdale, Mississippi-based label Rooster Blues, including Lonnie Shields and the late Roosevelt "Booba" Barnes, as well as Big Jack Johnson and the Jelly Roll Kings. The other side of contemporary blues is known as soul blues and features such post-soul performers as William Bell of Memphis, Louisiana's Ernie Johnson,



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### "Cotton Crop Blues"

Ain't gonna raise no more cotton;  
I'll tell you the reason why I say so.

Ain't gonna raise no more cotton;  
I'll tell you the reason why I say so.

Well, like raising a good cotton crop,  
Just like a lucky man shooting dice.

Work all the summer to make your cotton,  
When fall comes it still ain't no price.

(Oh now, Oh help me pick right here, boys,  
Oh yeah, So dark and muddy on this farm.)

I have plowed so hard, baby,  
Corns have hot all in my hands.

I want to tell you people,  
It ain't nothing for a poor farming man.

—James Cotton

Whites participated in a string band tradition which was manifested in the work of early Black groups like the Mississippi Sheiks and, by way of bluegrass, in such contemporary White groups as Don Wiley and Louisiana Grass. The Anglo-American equivalent of 1950s juke-joint blues is the classic honky tonk sound of Louisiana's Webb Pierce; honky tonk also merged with that juking blues to form rockabilly, a creolized form most often associated with Memphis's Sun Record label and its first star, Elvis Presley. But there were many, many young rockabillies who came out of the Delta, including Sonny Burgess and Sleepy LaBeef of Arkansas, Hayden Thompson and Warren Smith of Mississippi, and Louisiana's Dale Hawkins. Louisiana was also home to Jerry Lee Lewis. He personified a school of piano rockabilly which drew equally on the music of honky tonk pianists like Roy Hall, who worked with Webb Pierce, and the blues players who worked Haney's Big House in Lewis's hometown of Ferriday. Rockabilly served as the White road to rock and roll, a hybrid musical form which knew no color but was heavily influenced by Delta players including Black Mississippians Ike Turner and Bo

Mississippians Tyrone Davis and Willie Clayton, and Arkansas's Johnny Taylor. These soul blues artists, many of them associated with Jackson's Malaco label, have brought the blues once again not only to Delta night spots but to the national charts. For example, Johnny Taylor's hit "Good Love" made the national top ten at the close of 1996.

While the blues has become almost synonymous with the Delta, the region also has had other musical traditions, secular as well as sacred (see Joyce Jackson's article, "'Like a River Flowing with Living Water': Worshiping in the Delta," page 31, on the latter). Both Blacks and

Diddley. Some of the White rockabillies, like Arkansas's Conway Twitty, Charlie Rich, and Johnny Cash, would return to the fold of country music in the 1960s, joining Black Mississippi country artist Charlie Pride. The Delta continues to produce country artists like Louisianans Tim McGraw, Deana Carter, and such unclassifiable roots performers as Tony Joe White, Kevin Gordon, and Kenny Bill Stinson. Other rockabillies and their followers, including a number of Memphians such as Mud Boy and the Neutrons, the Panther Burns, Alex Chilton, and Big Ass Truck, would push the envelope of rock and roll to produce new, region-based sounds.

The Delta region is also home to a variety of sacred traditions, which provide both uplift and entertainment. From the voice of a mighty church soloist to huge mass choirs to entire congregations, the Delta is still alive with gospel song and even older spiritual sounds. There are quartets with amplified instruments and some Pentecostal churches which rock as hard as any juke joint. It's no accident that many of the rockabillies came out of the Assembly of God, and it's sometimes argued that it's only lyrical content which separates, say, the piano rock of Jerry Lee Lewis from the piano gospel of his preacher cousins Jimmy Swaggart and Gerald Lewis.

One form of Delta recreation that has been both preached against and sung about is gambling. Since the first riverboats plied the Mississippi between New Orleans and Memphis early in the last century, Delta residents have wagered their money on the turn of a card or the roll of the dice. In the 1920s and 1930s small casinos like the Moon Lake Club in Lula, Mississippi, provided both entertainment and literary material to guests like Tennessee Williams and William Faulkner. Most gaming, though, took place at a kitchen table, in the back room of a bar or store, or around a stump or any wall that would bounce a pair of dice or stop a penny. In a few locations, local variants of games evolved, such as the Jonesville poker that folklorist Don Hatley found in the back room of a Louisiana country store. (The store's owner had modified the basic poker deal to improve the odds for the "house.") Hatley also heard many tales of the "bean games," high-stakes poker games which emerged in the 1970s as the new riches of soybean farming increased Delta cash flow. While such games continue, since the early 1990s the emphasis has shifted to the "boats," riverboat replicas that remain mostly stationary adjacent to mammoth parking lots and brightly lit come-ons. These





*Eddie Mae's Cafe, above, in Helena, Arkansas, is a place for both blues and a friendly game.*

Photo by Deborah Luster



*A hunter's garage, left, in Arkansas City, Arkansas, contains a deer decoy, sometimes used for target practice. Photo by Deborah Luster*

casinos docked at Tunica, Lula, Vicksburg, and Natchez offer a round-the-clock array of slot machines, card games, roulette wheels, and dice accompanied by cheap food, plentiful beverages, and live music. Many of the casinos feature sound-alike “tributes” to musical stars, or sometimes the dimming stars of yore themselves. They also provide performance opportunities for Delta musicians, including young rockabillies and veteran bluesmen. And as they did for the writers of the 1930s, the casinos are providing material for the writers of contemporary blues songs, like Little Milton’s “Casino Blues,” that serve to both celebrate and warn of the pleasures and dangers of the game.

There has always been another form of game to be found in the Delta outdoors — deep in the swamps, on the levees, even on the ancient mounds. Although William Faulkner found occasional pleasure at the Moon Lake Club, it was in

Delta hunting that he discovered greater inspiration. Actually, in the world of the hunting and fishing camp one could find tales of bear, deer, and turkeys and also many an all-night card game. These camps are the private domain of hunting clubs, many of which feature excellent cooks, superb storytellers, and masters of a host of related craft skills including decoy carving, game call making, and the construction of the various traps, nets, and other equipment the sportsmen use instead of the gadgets advertised by the hook-and-bullet magazines. Many of these camps are extended family affairs, places where the



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rituals of the hunt are performed as rites of passage. A young hunter may be smeared with the blood of his first deer, or he may have his shirttail cut off and nailed to the camp wall to commemorate a missed shot. Regardless of the game bagged, the purpose of the hunt — for many — is ultimately to experience nature, to get in touch with a

part of the human heritage that's at least 20,000 years old, and to take some responsibility for the meat they eat. Is this sport? For some, but for others it can mean anything from a form of work to a mystical connection to their place in the world. Not all will agree with them, but then little of the culture of the Delta is calculated to garner favor with the outside observer. It exists to give pleasure and meaning to those who call the Delta home. To them, it's serious business.

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# “Like a River Flowing with Living Water”: Worshiping in the Mississippi Delta

Joyce Marie Jackson

In the view of many people, the American South is a complex phenomenon. One aspect of its complexity is that cultures brought there from Africa and Europe interacted with one another despite efforts to keep them separate, and so African Americans and European Americans have assimilated to a certain extent, and adapted similar religious traditions. Yet, though some congregations are now integrated, especially the Full Gospel churches, religious life in the South continues to be divided along racial lines. The assertion that 11:00 a.m. on Sunday morning is the most segregated hour in American society is probably as valid today as it ever was. However, the segregated nature of Southern religion is one that African Americans and other ethnic groups chose, in order to worship not only with a sense of dignity and independence but also in their own style.

This article attempts to examine briefly the richness and diversity of worship experiences in the Mississippi Delta. Looking at oratory, music, ritual, and sacred spaces also helps us understand what Anglo- and African-American sacred folk traditions have in common and where they differ.

## SINGING THE WORD

The tradition of Southern oratory includes roaring campaign speeches from the back of a pickup truck as well as “fire and brimstone” preaching at a backwoods

church revival. The central figure in the religious oratory folk community is the preacher. An indispensable part of his art and skill is to be able to respond to, engage, and raise spiritual energies during the performance of a sermon without a written text.

Where the sermon was first chanted, and by whom, are very difficult to determine. Bruce Rosenberg places the background of present-day fundamentalist beliefs and the chanted spiritual sermon in the 19th century by relating them to the Second Great Awakening of 1800–1801. Certainly the Great Awakening ushered in the age of the informal folk preachers in America and did much to modify the image of the clergy. In fact, the clerical profession in general has not been the same since the spiritual services took to the brush arbors and camp meetings.

It is probable that the Great Awakening provided African-American preachers their first significant public exposure; however, their preaching style and long, colorful, narrative prayers had been developed earlier, during the institution of slavery. The chanted sermon style — once held to be altogether European in origin — has historic precedents in several West, Central, East, and South African groups. Because many African cultures emphasize oral tradition, the artful manipulation of “the word” (from precolonial epics of the West African *griot* to playing the dozens or rapping in the streets) is a highly prized skill among people of African descent. Although both African Americans and Anglo Americans perform the folk chanted sermons — and may go beyond chanting to actually singing — the tradition has been most fully developed in the African-American community.

Timing is a vital factor in the building of the sermon, which normally begins in prose and moves into metrical verse. The rhythm of the lines must be properly maintained throughout the performance for it to be effective, and the congregation’s response, often in terms of call-and-response, plays a key role in the rhythmic structure of the sermon. The preacher’s individual style — his preference for particular melodies, rhythms, formulaic expressions, and themes — continually recreates the tradition.

## SONGS OF THE SPIRIT

Another important aspect of worship is, of course, music. Spirituals, the sacred folk songs created by enslaved African Americans during the ante-bellum era, are still being performed in their traditional a cappella (unaccompanied) style in many rural African-American churches. Urban



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churches have added piano accompaniment as well as other forms of instrumentation, and spirituals have also been arranged as gospel songs.

Although Anglo- and African-American Baptists in the Delta rarely share their pews, they do share some of their hymns. Common to both churches is the lining-out style of the Dr. Watts and other long-meter hymns. (Dr. Isaac Watts was an 18th-century English Methodist hymn writer.)

Lining-out is a hymn-singing tradition that arose out of necessity. There was a lack of hymn books and an abundance of people who could not read; therefore, one person was designated to “pitch” the song for the whole congregation. Both African and Anglo Americans practice this tradition in different performance styles. In the Anglo tradition the congregation sings almost the exact melody and rhythms of the leader, with some variation from individual singers; in the African-American tradition, the lead voice and congregation overlap melodically and rhythmically and decorate the hymn tunes with various vocal embellishments and moans. This produces an extraordinary effect sometimes called surge singing. In many churches this style is still performed a cappella.

Another style of religious music still prevalent today in the Delta is sacred harp, in which a system of four shapes — a triangle, circle, square, and diamond — is employed to designate the musical syllables *fa*, *sol*, *la*, and *mi* (shape-note singing is also called fasola singing). This system, a popular and effective way of teaching people to “read” music, was an outgrowth of the New England singing school movement and the Great Awakening. Published in Philadelphia in 1801, William Little’s *The Easy Instructor, or A New Method of Teaching Sacred Harmony* introduced the shape-note system to the general public. Later in the 19th century the publication of books employing the shape-note system began to spread south. William Walder’s *Southern Harmony* (1835) and Benjamin White and B.J. King’s *The Sacred Harp* (1844) have been two of the most widely used.

The Anglo-American sacred harp singing conventions that take place in the Delta are usually all-day affairs, and everybody is expected to participate in these religious social events. What follows the singing is another tradition



— “dinner-on-the-grounds,” a communal feast contributed to by all participants. Most of the singing is still done a cappella with the hymns sung first using the “fasola” syllables.

*Congregation outside Bethlehem No. 2 Missionary Baptist Church, Shaw, Mississippi.*

Photo © Tom Rankin

Although shape-note singing has been called White spiritual and White gospel singing, the system was adapted by certain African-American congregations in the South during the 1880s using texts of songs drawn from old hymns, gospel songs, and a few spirituals. There is only one collection of African-American sacred harp compositions. *The Colored Sacred Harp* (1934) by Judge Jackson.

*The African American Shape Note and Vocal Music Singing Convention Directory for Mississippi and Areas of Northeast Alabama* was published through the efforts and coordination of Chiquita Willis to “foster and support a network of African-American shape-note music singers and supporters that will facilitate interaction among conventions.” In August 1993, nearly 300 people, including delegations from twenty different singing conventions, attended the two-day West Harmony Singing Convention held at Pleasant Grove First Baptist Church in Grenada County, Mississippi. This convention and the work of Chiquita Willis have demonstrated that Mississippi has a much larger, more widespread shape-note tradition than previously thought.





*Rev. Lianell Wilson leads the "racking" procession and carries the banner which symbolizes the cross. The table is ornamented with twelve lamps representing the twelve disciples and twelve cakes representing the twelve tribes of Israel. This sacred ritual takes place in the Winnsboro community in the Louisiana Delta region.*

Photo © J. Nash Porter



*Members of a shape-note singing convention perform at Union Chapel Baptist Church in Manrae, Louisiana. Shape-note singing is a system of notated music commonly using four or seven shapes in lieu of the round notes found in standard European notation. This singing school system facilitates learning the music by note.*

Photo © J. Nash Porter

Among the various African-American shape-note singing groups in the Louisiana Delta area are the Winnsboro Senior Citizen Singers and Mr. and Mrs. Orland Johnson, a singing couple from Start, Louisiana. They participate along with other groups, most of whom sing a cappella, in the parish-wide, state, and regional convention and singing schools.

The shape-note singing conventions also led to the formation of some a cappella gospel quartets. The Oldham Family from West Carroll Parish in Louisiana is an English/Scots/Irish quartet that sings hymns learned in shape-note singing schools with the newer seven-note shape-note system.

A number of African-American quartets in the Delta started with the shape-note system as well. The Pleasant Star Singers (formed in 1946), one of the oldest a cappella quartets in the Winnsboro, Louisiana, area, still sing with the singing conventions. The Convention Specials Quartet (with members from various Delta parishes), the Mighty Soul Guides, and the Royal Newtown Spiritual Quartet from Monroe can usually be found at church programs and quartet anniversaries.

Gospel music has contributed tremendously to the Mississippi Delta region's unique musical heritage. This new sacred music of the 20th century reflects the concerns of urban life and to a large extent has replaced other sacred styles like the folk spiritual and the Dr. Watts hymn. In the African-American community during the 1920s the gospel tradition began to emerge in small, urban, Pentecostal "storefront" churches, then gradually in Baptist churches. Now the genre has found its way into the sanctuaries of African-American congregations of virtually every religious denomination, including Catholic.

When Anglo-American settlers moved into the Delta, they brought with them their fiddling, ballad-singing, and sacred music traditions. Their gospel music can be found in performances of gospel quartets, family and community groups, and country and bluegrass bands. Many of these styles are rooted in the shape-note singing tradition.

Though country and bluegrass music differ in their themes and instruments, bands from both genres usually perform sacred songs. You can also find an occasional sacred instrumental band in the Delta. Rev. Gerald Lewis,



who grew up in Ferriday, Louisiana, plays gospel piano in his Pentecostal Band and built a ministry in several rural

churches in Swartz, Louisiana. His cousins Jerry Lee Lewis, Mickey Gilley, and Jimmy Swaggart took that small-town background and musical skill to the top of the rock and roll, country, and television evangelism fields.

## SACRED RITUALS

Rites of passage such as birth, death, and marriage mark a change in a person's socioreligious position. Baptism in the Delta region, a symbolic ritual of purification and initiation, is a significant rite of passage. As late as the 1950s, river submersion was common in both African- and Anglo-American Protestant churches but continues today primarily among African Americans.

Nowadays, after their week-long annual revival, Rev. L.D. Oliver, pastor of St. Paul Baptist Church in Monroe, Louisiana, and Rev. Roosevelt Wright, Jr., pastor of the Tabernacle Baptist Church, gather their congregations together for the river baptism. In this setting the old, traditional spirituals such as "Take Me to the River," "I Know I've Got Religion," and "Wade in the Water" are sung. Rev. Oliver works to remind other area ministers and youth about their heritage of river baptism from the

biblical example set by John the Baptist baptizing Christ in the Jordan River.

Rituals involving immersion in bodies of water are also prevalent in traditional African religious ceremonies. They are symbolic of purification, washing away evil and healing the physical as well as the spiritual being. The ritual act of immersion carries the hope of renewal and freedom, ideas that have driven African-American spirituality.

The ministers in Rayville and Alto still take their congregations to the nearby Beouf River, and in Monroe the Ouachita River at the Foot of Pine Street has been used for several generations. This sacred place is called by the elders of the community the Old Burying Ground, an appropriate name for the place of ritual baptism in which "the candidate is symbolically buried in Christ, sins are washed away, and one is raised up to walk in newness of life."

Another sacred ritual that takes place in rural African-American Baptist churches in northern Louisiana is the Easter Rock ceremony held on the eve of Easter Sunday. In this ritual the elders sing some of the old traditional spirituals such as "Oh, When the Saints Go Marching In" and "King David." The songs are sung in a chant-like manner, as the participants move counterclockwise with circular rocking movements around a table placed in the middle of the church floor. Dr. Watts and other long-meter hymns such as "I Know the Lord Will Answer Prayer" and "I Love the Lord, He Heard My Cry" are also very prominent in the context of the Easter Rock. The congregants dress in white, and the leader carries a circular banner representing the cross. The table is decorated with white tablecloths, and twelve lamps and twelve cakes, representing the twelve disciples and twelve tribes of Israel. The Easter eggs on the table symbolize new birth.

This ritual clearly has African and Caribbean antecedents; there are many accounts of sacred circular dances throughout the African Diaspora. Some of the elderly Delta participants recalled their parents remembering the tradition as pre-dating the Civil War. The "rock" had vanished for awhile, then certain individuals became interested in the history and began to revive the tradition. The ritual has been passed on by the Addison family for many generations. Now Hattie Addison coordinates the Winnsboro Easter Rock, and people from various congregations in the area participate. The Original True Light Baptist Church, pastored by Rev. J.L. McDowell, is ideal for the "rock" because its wooden floors contribute to the percussive effect, and movable pews make room to "rock"

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in a circle. The whole ceremony is done a cappella; only hand clapping and foot stamping accompany the songs. Easter Rocks were once held around Ferriday, Louisiana, in Clayton and Sicily Island; however, those have not been organized in the last few years.

## SPIRITUAL SPACES

The religious experiences of many people are tied to specific places where rituals are performed. Some people also construct personal sacred space to their own specifications.

On Old U.S. 61 in Kings, Mississippi, just outside of Vicksburg, one man's sacred space has been under construction for several years. Rev. Herman Dennis is spreading the word of God not only through his spontaneous sermons but also through his craftsmanship.

Dennis has decorated Margaret's Grocery Store (belonging to his wife) in red and white brick with large brick columns of varying size. All bear bits and pieces of biblical phrases and messages that travelers can read. He has also placed reproductions of various symbolic designs in very strategic places. For example, on the wall, ceiling, and the sidewalk he has placed the Masonic order symbol of the "G," which to him represents God.

To the right of the grocery store is a large brick tower where he plans to house the Ark of the Covenant, which will eventually contain the Ten Commandments. Then, he believes, Margaret's Grocery Store will attract people of all Christian faiths to worship. Dennis believes that God, like himself, is a builder or a "craftsman." "The Almighty is the greatest architect," he says, "and I am his assistant."

These genres of worship in the Delta constantly reunite a region by reminding it of its shared but multifocal heritage. Worship traditions are shaped by a collective and selective memory. Decisions are made by regarding fundamental and shared values. To participate in tradi-

*The Oldham Family quartet is a sacred English/Scots/Irish group based in the First Church of God in Oak Grove, Louisiana. The group sings hymns learned in singing school with the seven-note shape-note system. Photo © Susan Roach*

tional worship traditions is to relive that past and to make it a source of power for the future of the Delta.

*Joyce Marie Jackson, an ethnomusicologist and folklorist, is Associate Professor in the Department of Geography and Anthropology at Louisiana State University in Baton Rouge. She received her Ph.D. from Indiana University, Bloomington. She has been a Rockefeller Fellow and has produced The Gospel Train: Zion Travelers Spiritual Singers, a documentary recording on the a cappella quartet tradition. Her book, From These Roots, which also focuses on the a cappella quartet tradition, is forthcoming.*

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..... *Precious Memories: A Tribute to Archie Brownlee*. MCA 28002.

The Hawkins Family. *Oo-wee Lord, You Have Been Good*. LILSIL's Music, Dallas, Texas.

Hemphills. *Home Cookin'*. Heart Warming.

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# African Immigrant Culture in Metropolitan Washington, D.C.: Building & Bridging Communities

*Diana Baird N'Diaye*

self living in the Washington, D.C., area for an indefinite period. Here she uses her intimate knowledge and talents in *buraanbur* and other expressive arts to do the delicate work of repairing torn relations between Somalis from different families, drawing people together across clan lines. As Somali community scholar Abdirahman Dahir observes, "*Buraanbur* brings harmony to the community; it brings participation of women from all the clans." Rukia Hussein and other Somali women in Northern Virginia and Washington, D.C., share the task of organizing occasions that ease the pain of adjusting to a new environment, restore relations, and construct community identity. Through their efforts, Somali women's poetry, once restricted to women's circles, has become a source of pride, enjoyment, and solidarity for all Somali immigrants.

Across the metropolitan Washington region, African immigrants actively redefine their ideas of tradition and community by creating institutions and events that draw on expressive African forms. African-born area residents establish language and culture schools where their American-born children learn the social and artistic skills of their ancestral homes. Family and friends come together to celebrate births, weddings, and other rites of passage. African immigrant entrepreneurs employ their knowledge of personal adornment and of the social needs of their home communities to serve fellow immigrants and other Washingtonians.

As did the collaborative research project that led to the 1997 Festival of American Folklife program *African Immigrant Folklife*, this essay explores several cultural dimen-

**I**n Somalia, Rukia Hussein grew up surrounded by the bounteous expression of *buraanbur*, a tradition of women's sung poetry and dance. In the 1960s, she was a leader with her husband in the Somali struggle for independence. She served as a diplomat during the transition to Somali independence. Mrs. Hussein is recognized by fellow Somalis as a fine poet. When the war in her country tore apart the rich fabric of cultural and social life at home, she found her-

sions: the use made of knowledge, skills, values, and expressive forms brought from home to construct new communities and identities; and the new tradition that grows from encounters with groups in the African Diaspora and in American society as a whole that contributes to the rich cultural landscape of the United States.

The Washington, D.C., region has one of the largest and most diverse populations in the United States of immigrants born on the African continent, some 60,000 people. According to Bereket Selassie, "The majority have come from the Horn of Africa, more than 30,000 Ethiopians, Eritreans, and Somalis combined, with the largest numbers from Ethiopia and Eritrea. The next largest group, 10,000 to 15,000, are from Nigeria. Substantial numbers from Ghana, Sierra Leone, Senegal, Cameroon, and dozens of other African countries add to the mix of African cultures" (Selassie 1996). They are students, workers, self-employed business people, and their families. Selassie notes that a large number of African immigrants in Washington have come as political refugees. The nation's capital also is home to African diplomats and professionals serving in embassies, international and nongovernmental organizations, and at academic institutions.

The years from 1965 to the present can be considered the third and fourth waves of African immigration. The first was involuntary, of course, the result of violent sequestrations in Africa between the 17th and the 19th centuries. The next wave of immigration from Africa was approximately 150 years ago from Cape Verde and was driven by severe conditions of drought on these islands off the West African coast.

Prior to 1965, most Africans tended to emigrate to the European metropolises which had colonized their lands. In 1965, however, new immigration legislation was enacted in the United States which eliminated the system of national quotas for the Western hemisphere and replaced it with an overall limit of 120,000 immigrants. In 1986 amnesty laws enabled many long-term African residents to regularize their status. But now in 1997, debates recalling those of the 1920s dispute the value or threat of immigration. Proposed immigration legislation is increasingly restrictive.

Neighbors, clients, patrons, and co-congregants of African newcomers living in the Washington area often include African Americans — the descendants of those who were brought unwillingly from Africa centuries ago, some of whose families migrated from the lower South during the 1930s and 1940s and others who came via the Caribbean

Support for this program comes from the Smithsonian Institution Educational Outreach Program.



# African Immigrant Folklife



(above) Somali women dance to the words and clap to the rhythms of buraanbur at a picnic in Northern Virginia organized by the Washington-area Somali community. Photo by Harold Dorwin

and South America. Some long-term local residents and their organizations have welcomed Africans of the new diaspora to their churches and community organizations. Other area residents have been slow to embrace newcomers to neighborhoods they see as their own. Many African immigrants, like their counterparts from the Caribbean, encounter the dilemma of being projected in the media as model minorities while paradoxically facing challenges arising from anti-immigrant sentiment and resurgent racism.

Culture shock or disillusion, concern over the possible loss of culture, and the desire to communicate their community traditions to a wider public often go hand in hand. Women particularly note the need for children to learn the traditions of their parents' homeland as part of a good upbringing.

Nomvula Cook, born in Lesotho, came to the United States with her African-American husband:

In 1981 I arrive in the United States. Little do I know that this becomes a turning point in my life. I meet new people, and I make new friends. It doesn't take me long to realize that I am now swimming in the belly of a new culture. The question is, do I swim or do I sink? I begin to feel the burden of being expected to think and rationalize like an American.... The fear of losing my culture and tradition in a

(above) Members of Ethiopian Christian communities of several denominations celebrate Maskal (cross finding) each year at Malcolm X Park in Washington, D.C. Maskal, a tradition of Coptic origin, commemorates the finding of the cross and announces the new year.

Photo by Harold Dorwin



(above) As Texas-born Jackie Kakembo looks on, Don Folden, also an African American, is adorned in traditional clothing by Cameroonian artists Paul Kengma and Joseph Ngwa at a cultural evening. The educational event was organized by the clothing and home design store African Eye along with the Palaver Hut, a group founded by Liberian and other African women in Washington, D.C., that helps to make links between communities. Photo by Harold Dorwin

foreign country continues to stay with me.... I begin to feel a tremendous guilt of raising my children in a culture that has no room to accommodate my cultural identity. At this point ... maybe this fear begins to motivate me to be actively involved in collecting, preserving the cultural music and art of Basotho people....

African newcomers to the United States describe a development of consciousness of themselves as members of an ethnic group, of a larger national community, of Africa as a whole, and ultimately of a larger African world that includes African-American and Caribbean peoples. They



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## Buraanbur Poetry

By Rukia Hussein, trans. Abdirahman Dahir

The following poem in the original Somali and in English translation is representative of *buraanbur*, a women's praise poetry and dance tradition that is carried on by the Somali community in the Washington, D.C., area.

### "Hooya Amaanaysa Gabadheeda"

(A Mother Praises Her Beloved Daughter)

Gabadhii aan jeclaayee galaddii ilaahayee  
Gacalkii la i siiyey ee guule ii gartaay  
Gaban markii aad ahayd ee laagu gardaadsanaa  
Gurbood markaad noqotay ubadkii ka raacaay gees  
Dugsigana aad aaday guushiina soo hantiday  
Garaadkaaga iyo aqoontaada gees walbab gaasir ma leh  
Markii aan gaabshay tii ii gargaartayee  
Oo guulahaan tuugay rabbigayga gacanta wayn  
Giddigeeda noloshaada ha ahaato garabka sare  
Oo guur marka aad gaarto oo wiil is-gacashataan  
Ninka ha guul gullin guryankaaga yaan la maqal  
Gurboodka ururi gacalkiisa gogol u fidi  
Go'yaasha u uumi oo raaxo heer ka gaar  
Oo gurrac haddii aad aragto gurigiisaba uga guur  
Gunaanadka iga guddoon gaamur duco gin-giman  
Golaha aakhirana jannadii ku hayso gogol

My beloved girl, you are a gift from Allah.  
You are sweet, bestowed on me by the Victorious One.  
When you were a baby and were held on a lap,  
When you became an adolescent and took your place among your peers,  
And went to school and claimed success,  
Your intellect and knowledge rounded in every way,  
You helped me when I lagged behind,  
So I pray Allah the Omnipotent on your behalf.  
May your life be lived at the highest level  
When you begin to date and are ready for marriage.  
Do not nag him, and let not your grumbling be heard;  
Open your house and spread mats for his people.  
Apply incense at home, and dress and indulge him with pleasure,  
But if he rewards you with mischief, move out from his home.  
Accept this conclusion of my bestowing prayers to you:  
I wish you paradise in the life hereafter.

*Abdirahman Dahir has been working as a community scholar for the African Immigrant Folklife Study Project since 1994. He is a Training Coordinator for Lutheran Social Services and a great admirer of traditional Somali poetry.*

perform these evolving identities through participation in various cultural activities.

For many African newcomers to the United States, their sojourn is temporary; they plan to return to their countries at a later date. Others have decided to live permanently in the United States by becoming American citizens. This decision is not taken lightly and without sacrifice. Yusef Ford, associate director of the Ethiopian Community Center, notes that in becoming an American citizen — a move that he hesitated to make for two decades in the United States — he was obliged to forfeit rights to his father's inheritance in Ethiopia.

A few Africans are able to move between residences on the African and North American continents. Following a Caribbean pattern, some African countries are beginning to permit continued citizenship to emigrants and are even establishing ministries of emigrant affairs. Whether Africans are permanent residents, citizens, or temporary sojourners, they often have the responsibility of sending support to families at home.

As the continental Africans living in the nation's capital region have increased in number, they have stamped their presence on the ethnic map and cultural calendar of the area. Africans present cultural programs, conferences, and forums about their communities. Akwa Ibom, for example, an organization composed of members from Nigeria's Cross Rivers State, presents dance and masquerade traditions representing the Efik, Anang, and Ibibio ethnic groups of that region. Some organizations like the Ghanaian group Fantse-Kuo and the Sudanese Association organize by country, region, or ethnic group. Other groups present traditional culture from a pan-African perspective.

Using traditional skills and knowledge, African-born entrepreneurs develop services for immigrants and the community at large: Nigerian-run Oyingbo International Market in Hyattsville, Maryland, is an example, as are tailors, dressmakers, couturiers, textile shops, and hair-braiding salons. Immigrants run weekend schools and camps to nurture cultural identity and transmit traditions to their children. African journalists, talk-show hosts, and disc jockeys feature news, interviews, music, and discussions of interest to the African immigrant community.

Events such as the annual Ethiopian soccer tournament, institutions such as the AME Methodist Church African Liberation Ministry, and "friends" and "sister cities" organizations bring together different communities in the Washington area. Community institutions sometimes use tradi-



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tional forms of social organization like *tontines* — revolving credit and savings societies — other kinds of investment groups, and town associations to get things done.

Some organizations retain close links to embassies, and their programs often center around events in the home country. But many others exist outside the sphere of official contact with their former lands. As communities become more established and populous, organizations become more like those of other American ethnic groups. Community scholar Gorgui N'Diaye notes that twenty years ago, children born to Senegalese parents in the United States were usually sent home to be educated, with the expectation that the entire family would eventually return. At that time, they felt no need for cultural training outside the family. As more Senegalese and their Gambian neighbors have begun to raise their children here, Senegambians have begun to explore organized cultural activities for their young growing up in America.

African immigrants bring to America ideas of ethnic and region-based organizations that were devised when Africans first migrated from rural towns to urban centers in Africa. These patterns of organization continue in the United States. In the greater Washington metropolitan area, the Nwan-nedinamba Social Club of Nigeria, the Asante Kotoko Association, and the Ethiopian Business Association are among the many organizations that revitalize traditional norms, values, and civic unity (Olumba 1995).

Political, social, and cultural bridges are gradually being built between continental African and Caribbean communities, who share similar experiences of immigration, accommodation, and ongoing transnational interests. They recognize an identity based on shared African ancestry and the experience of racial discrimination. This growing consciousness is shared with established African-American communities. These relationships have led Washington's Mayor Marion Barry to appoint a Commission of African and Caribbean Community Affairs, which is composed of equal numbers of continental African and Caribbean Americans. African-American organizations have formed "sister city" relationships with cities in Africa and the Caribbean. These organizations develop exchange visits between African and American children and adults, sponsor cultural activities, and raise funds for civic gifts — ambulances, computers, etc. The organizations work closely with African and Caribbean immigrant organizations from their "adopted" regions.

As African expatriates become immigrants, and as immigrants become citizens, they use aspects of traditional culture to maintain connections with their roots, affirm their

identity, maintain positive self-images for their children, express their links to other African world people, and assert their unique contribution to their land of adoption.

There is a need for greater understanding of the cultures and experiences of continental Africans living in the United States. Perhaps a continuing annual event, like Brooklyn's West Indian Day carnival parade or the Latino festival in the District of Columbia, will be invented to mobilize and define African immigrants publicly as a single community. Most importantly, there is a need for connection and collaboration between Africans in America and African Americans, between Washington's immigrants and its long-established populations.

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*Issues of immigrant culture, community, and identity touch close to home for Diana Baird N'Diaye, who directed the African Immigrant Folklife Study Project and co-curates the 1997 Festival program. She was born to immigrants from Guyana and Barbados and is married to African-born co-researcher Gorgui N'Diaye. Diana's doctoral dissertation is an ethnographic study of the African Immigrant Folklife research and presentation project.*

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# Celebrations in African Immigrant Communities

## Islamic Celebrations in the African Immigrant Communities in Washington, D.C.

Sulayman S. Nyang

Immigrants from the Muslim world have introduced global Islam into the American cultural and religious mosaic. They can be easily seen at the rituals, rites, and celebrations they perform as part of their faith communities and at annual events that reaffirm and revalidate their identities as Muslims. This aspect of Muslim life in the United States is now felt around the country and especially in the greater Washington area, where almost all Muslim countries are represented by their respective embassies and where a small but growing body of immigrant and native-born Muslims now reside. Estimates by local media put the Muslim population in the area between 50,000 and 75,000.

Muslims annually celebrate several feasts now reported in the local press and discussed between Muslims and their neighbors and friends in American society. The three most widely celebrated events among African Muslims are the Eid el-Fitr, Eid el-Adha, and Mawlad el-Nabi. The first feast takes place every year at the end of the month of fasting known as Ramadan. Because they have not yet established religious centers of their own, African Muslims in the greater Washington area usually join other Muslims at various local *masjids* (mosques) and Islamic centers for the Eid prayers. If they have been able to secure leave from work to celebrate, they also partake in a meal of chicken bought from *halal* (ritual expert) butchers, who cater specifically to Muslims. Some pay visits to relatives and friends in the area, while others are hosts or hostesses to other Muslims they have not seen during the year because of conflicts in work schedules and other responsibilities of modern urban life.

The second feast, the Eid el-Adha, comes two months and ten days after the Eid el-Fitr. This celebration is a re-enact-



ment of Abraham's offer to sacrifice his son to God. It is also the day after the Muslim pilgrims converge at Mt. Arafat as part of their *hajj* (pilgrimage) to Mecca. Like the first Eid, this one is celebrated by prayer at the mosque and by social visits and meals. This occasion is distinctive in its tradition of sacrificing a lamb (or any other animal approved by Islamic law) and sharing the meal prepared from it with neighbors and friends.

The third celebration, Mawlad el-Nabi, centers on the *sira* (biography) of the Prophet Muhammad. On this occasion African Muslims organize lectures and chanting sessions at a local mosque or rented facility. Such celebrations are often acts of devotion by members of local Muslim community organizations connected with African Muslim brotherhoods. These American branches of African Sufi orders

In Maryland, Sierra Leonean immigrant Muslims pray at the Eid Celebration at the end of Ramadan, 1997. Photo by Harold Dorwin

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maintain this form of veneration of the Prophet, but the tradition is frowned upon by members of the Wahabi sect from Saudi Arabia because it is seen as an innovation. During the celebrations, congregations sing poems known as *qasidas*, composed and written down long ago by African and Arab poets like Shaykh Alhaji Malick Sy of Senegal and other Muslim poets from Mali, Nigeria, Sudan, Tanzania, and Harar in Ethiopia.

*Sulayman S. Nyang, a tenured professor at Howard University's African Studies Department, was the founding editor of the American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences. Dr. Nyang has served as Ambassador of the Republic of the Gambia throughout the Middle East and northeast African countries. He is also the author and editor of works such as Islam, Christianity, and African Identity (1984) and Religious Plurality in Africa: Essays in Honor of John Mbiti (1993), which was co-authored with Jacob Ohupona.*

## Nature & Significance of Durbar in Ghanaian Societies

*Kwaku Ofori-Ansa & Peter Pipim*

Ghanaian traditional rulers sit in state and meet their people at events called *durbars* (an Indo-Persian term for "ruler's court"). To the accompaniment of music and dance, ceremonies honor their ancestors, rekindle their bond to the people, revive unity, cleanse the society, and pray for the fruitfulness of the land and the welfare of the people. Beautifully adorned kings, queens, chiefs, and their elders appear in public procession amidst intensive drumming, singing, and dancing. At their destination king and queen sit in state flanked by chiefs and elders, as sound and motion continue around them: drum languages articulate praises; special guests extend greetings and pay homage; gifts are presented.

The Akan people of Ghana organize *durbars* for the installation of chiefs, kings and queens, and their elders, a tradition that has been carried over to the United States. This year the Asanteman Kuo, an association organized by the Asante, one of the Akan groups in the United States, will hold the third installation of its leadership, an event which happens every three years. During a *durbar*, the Asanteman Kuohene (chief of the Asanteman association) of the Washington metropolitan area will host members of Asanteman Kuo from Atlanta, Toronto, New York, New England, Montreal, Los Angeles, Chicago, and Dallas. The chiefs and the queen mothers of these Asante associations will appear in traditional ceremonial clothing of hand-woven, hand-stamped, hand-embroidered, and hand-appliquéd cloths accentuated with glittering gold,



silver jewelry, and precious beads. Accompanied by drumming, singing, and dancing, they will process under ceremonial umbrellas of brilliant colors.

Symbols of status and authority, the royal paraphernalia reflect a complex array of philosophical, religious, and political concepts, which inform ideals and codes of conduct. The large, colorful umbrellas (*akutamanso*) represent the protective role and the authority of chiefs and queens. Gold-plated staffs (*akyeamepoma*) of the chief's spokesmen, or linguists, symbolically depict political ideals. Ceremonial chief stools (*ahenkongua*) — carried by stool bearers and placed in front of the chiefs — are symbols of spiritual and political unity. Their carved images refer to certain philosophical, religious, and political concepts. Gold-plated ceremonial swords carried by the Council of Elders are traditionally borne by royal messengers and are used in swearing oaths of allegiance during installations of rulers and elders.

Traditional *durbars* can last a whole day until sunset. Sharing special drinks at these occasions symbolizes hospitality and community spirit. The *durbar* ends with a

*Officials of the Washington, D.C., Ghanaian community organization Asanteman Kuo were attired in regalia for an inaugural event in 1994 at a local gym in Langley Park, Maryland. Photo courtesy Peter Pipim, Asanteman Kuo organization*



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procession from the public grounds to the chief's palace, where a libation is poured to honor the ancestors and thank the Supreme Creator. More than just a social gathering, a durbar revives and reinforces loyalty and strengthens the ties and the sense of belonging that bind a people together.

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*Kwaku Ofori-Ansa, who is from Ghana, is Professor of Art at Howard University. He holds a Ph.D. in folklore*

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*studies. He is also a cultural activist and has been an integral part of the group of community scholar/advisors to the African Immigrant Folklife Project since 1994.*

*Peter Pipim, an Education Specialist at the National Museum of African Art, is also active in Ghanaian-American cultural affairs as an officer of the Akan organization Asanteman Kuo and of the Council of Ghanaian Organizations in the metropolitan Washington, D.C., area.*

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# Ikeji Masquerade in New York City & Ofirima Masquerade in Washington, D.C.: Research Reports on Two Cultural Adaptations

*The term masquerade can refer to a masking performance, a masked performer, or the character embodied by the mask itself. Masquerade is an important mode of cultural expression for several groups from Nigeria. Molly Egondü Uzo researched Ikeji masquerade as it is now performed in the New York City area. Tonye Victor Erekosima researched the Ofirima masquerade as it is performed by the Rivers State Forum in Washington, D.C. The following are excerpts from their research reports.*

## Ikeji Masquerade

### Molly Egondü Uzo

**I**n Umuchu in Nigeria, as in most of Africa, "masquerade is exclusively for men. It's a macho thing," said Mr. Victor Emenuga, a member of the Umuchu cultural troupe, based in New Jersey. Mr. Emenuga was addressing an audience at the 1996 Hudson River Arts Festival in Poughkeepsie, New York. The purpose of masquerade can be to entertain, to commend achievers, to chastise evil-doers, to bring messages of hope, peace, or



impending disaster, to mourn the dead or to receive a special newborn, or to grace a ceremonial occasion like a festival. To these ends, its elaborately created physical presence evokes a great range of feelings, from approbation and appreciation to fear and awe. A good masquerade has admirable human or animal features and is a great dancer, too. Men use masquerade as an outlet for their macho energy. They are strong enough to invoke and mingle with the spirits of the dead, but women are not. Of course, it makes them feel good about themselves, and life goes on. Traditionally, masquerades have the highest level of freedom in a village. You cannot fight a masquerade. You cannot unmask it. And you have no right to say the name of the person under the mask, even if you know who it is. Once under the mask, he becomes sacred, a person used to embody the spirit.

As more Africans make the United States their permanent residence, some adapt their traditional festivals to their new

*Members of Akwa Ibom, a Nigerian regional organization in the Washington, D.C., area, re-enact a masquerade procession at the 1995 Festival of American Folklife.*

*Photo by Jeff Tinsley, courtesy Smithsonian Institution*



# African Immigrant Folklife

homes. New Yam and New Year festivals are now common. In addition to dance, food, and pageantry, some festivals feature masquerades. For instance, the Ikeji festival of the Arondizuogu community (one of the Igbo clans in Nigeria) in New York cannot be complete without the Ikeji masquerades.

Sometimes adaptation seems the only alternative for surviving. In Igboland there is no one-man masquerade, but we have it here in the United States, thanks to the use of audio cassettes for background music. The Ikeji festival masquerades are among the few that still try to preserve their tradition. But they come out only once a year, in summer. They still uphold their myths. They have only a few hours of Ikeji masquerade in New York, as opposed to four days in Arondizuogu. They don't have enough skilled drummers to back up their performances, so they occasionally resort to taped music. To avoid lawsuits, they limit open interaction with the audience.

## Ofirima Masquerade

**Tonye Victor Erekosima**

**T**he Ofirima (Shark) masquerade is generally staged by men only. The headpiece that is worn indicates the kind of masquerade being presented. Members of the Rivers State Forum, an organization named after a province in southeastern Nigeria, staged the Ofirima during their annual outing in Washington, D.C. In the traditional outfit of an appropriately dressed masquerade, the headpiece is a faithful model of the ferocious fish. It was carved by a local resident. The many male dancers who accompany him were also in their proper traditional attire, because every Rivers man living here has at least one such outfit in his possession.

The distinctive style of this dance is a leisurely cadence with broad sweeps of the arms and slow pacing of the feet; this shows opulence, casualness, and a dignified bearing. It is very different from much of the dancing done by the Rivers people's neighbors. Some say it reflects the slow ebb and flow of water in their geographical setting; others, their history as traders who have trafficked with the outside world for centuries with relative ease.

Audience members in Washington retain the Nigerian practice of informal concourse through the arena where the masquerade was being played, but only an entertainment mask like Ofirima could be performed. The shark is

"Masquerades with controversial attributes, like Ogaranya Afo Toro, known for his excesses including oversized private parts, are cautiously avoided," says Chris Awam, originally from Arondizuogu. "But we will still perform the most authentic masquerade in the United States. At least our masquerades don't wear socks." Awam is making fun of some groups whose masquerades are so human that they wear socks. Spirits don't even have feet. They can float in the air. Socks are very human; they are foreign goods as well. Traditional masquerades would never wear them.

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*Mary "Molly" Uzo is a Nigerian-born community cultural activist who has researched and presented programs in upstate New York on African masquerade traditions including those of her own Igbo ethnic group from southeastern Nigeria.*

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ferocious, so an attendant — dabbed with white chalk or kaolin to dispel negative forces — follows it and checks its aggressiveness. As a lead dancer, he wears an eagle feather, the badge of an accomplished member of the Ekine men's dancing society. He precedes the masquerade, pouring a libation and invoking the ancestors to provide a safe and nimble performance. That day, rich attire and collective spontaneity were shared between the dancers and the audience of Rivers women who enthusiastically joined them. Everyone on the scene left feeling they had participated in a memorable event.



*This Ibibia masquerade was danced at the 1995 Smithsonian Festival of American Folklife by members of Akwa Ibam, an organization of area residents with origins in the Cross Rivers State in Nigeria.*

Photo by Jeff Tinsley, courtesy Smithsonian Institution

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*Dr. Tonye Victor Erekosima was born in the Rivers State region of Nigeria and has done extensive research on the Kalabari ethnic group, of which he is a member. He is a scholar and a religious minister and divides his professional time between Washington, D.C., and Nigeria.*

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## Yoruba Naming Ceremony in Washington, D.C.

*Diana Baird N'Diaye with  
Gilbert Ogunfeditimi & Frederick Ogunfeditimi*

Unless a baby is named within seven to nine days of its birth, according to Yoruba tradition, it will not outlive its parent of the same sex. This belief underscores the importance of naming and of the ceremony at which it is done. Soon after their son was born, Mr. Banyole and Mrs. Adiola Adeboyeku of Washington, D.C., telephoned friends and relatives and invited them to the house. Mr. Adeboyeku had already prepared for the occasion on his previous trip to Nigeria. There he had purchased richly embroidered white cloth and had taken it to a tailor in Lagos to have festive clothing made for the baby's father, mother, and older brother, Babatunde. Husband and wife had already thought about names, and their mothers in Nigeria had also sent their choices. When the baby would visit Nigeria for the first time, his grandmothers would call him by the names they had chosen.

On the day of the celebration at the Adeboyeku home, guests arrived from early afternoon bringing money and other baby gifts: layette sets, clothing, and blankets. After about an hour of socializing, the ceremony began. Everyone assembled around a living-room table, which displayed ritual foods and objects. The family are members of the congregation of the International House of Prayer for All People, and their pastor, Reverend Frederick Ogunfeditimi, officiated. The ceremony began with a hymn. Then the reverend introduced each of the foods and objects to the baby to taste or touch, declaring the symbolic meanings of each as he did so. He expressed prayers for the child's well-being and good character and passed each object around for those present to taste or touch. The baby's given names were announced to all: the first name, Orobola, means "riches"; the second name, Adeleke, means "We are already higher than our enemies." Rev. Ogunfeditimi pointed out that if the ceremony had been taking place in Nigeria, it would probably have been held outdoors. The baby's bare foot would have been touched



to the ground to guide his first steps in the right direction. Here in the United States this is not part of the ceremony. Singing and bearing candles, Rev.

Ogunfeditimi led the tiny newcomer Orobola and his parents and well-wishers to the baby's bed, where prayers and hymns blessed the room. Poets recited Ewi poetry composed for the occasion.

Guests returned to the living room, as festive foods began to appear from the kitchen.

Friends had cooked fried plantain and two kinds of rice dishes. The Adeboyeku family had prepared goat stew with *fufu* and *egusi*. Boiled yams and fowl completed the feast. Throughout the evening, more guests arrived for festive music and dance, which lasted until morning.

*At their home in Lanham, Maryland, the Adeboyeku family and their friends greet the newborn with tastes of ritual foods in a traditional Yoruba naming ceremony.*

Photo © Roland Freeman

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*Gilbert Ogunfeditimi, African Immigrant Folklife Project community scholar and educational specialist, and Frederick Ogunfeditimi, pastor of the International House of Prayer for All People in the District of Columbia, were advisors to the Center's World Wide Web exhibition on Yoruba names and naming in metropolitan Washington, D.C.*

**AUTHORS' NOTE:** This article is an excerpt from an on-line exhibition on the World Wide Web. To reach the entire exhibition, which includes sound and more photographs, go to <<http://www.si.edu/folklife/vfest/africa>>.



## Passing Culture on to the Next Generation:

African Immigrant  
Language & Culture Schools  
in Washington, D.C.

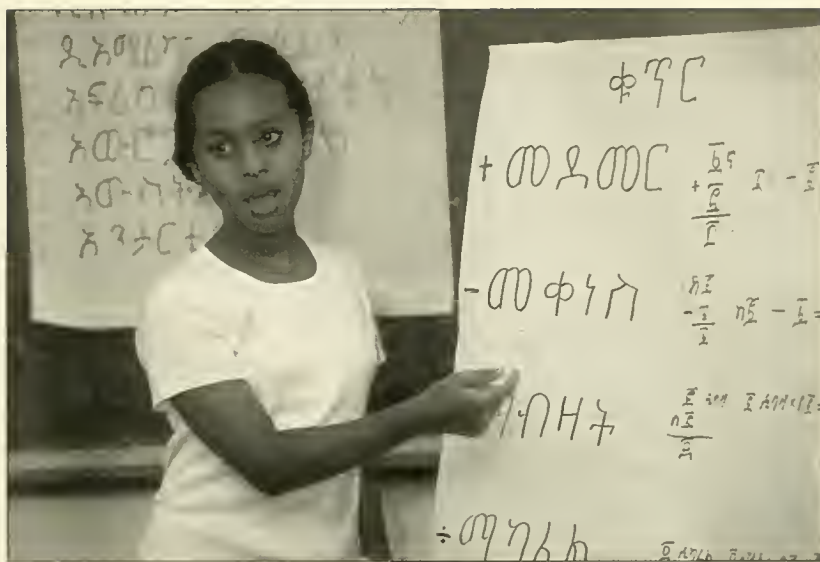
*Remi Aluko & Diana Sherblom*

Language and culture are inextricably intertwined. Culture is the totality of ways of living built up by a group of people in response to how they see their environment. And these ways are passed from generation to generation by various means, including language: prose and poetry, written and spoken, in forms like proverbs, riddles, folk tales, jokes, fables, songs, drama, drumming, chants, raps, and other musical media.

People from many parts of Africa have been voluntarily coming to America for quite some time for leisure, business, and education. Through many of those years, cultural identity was not an issue, because the African communities were transient. Many people did not even come with their families. Many Africans did not want to live far away from home for long. This mind-set is reflected in a Yoruba proverb that says, "Ajo ko le dundun, ki onile ma re'le," "No matter how pleasant and enjoyable your sojourn abroad has been, you must return home." And, indeed, most people did.

But in the last couple of decades, more and more Africans have been migrating permanently to the United States. In response to grave economic and political conditions in many African countries, they have been making their homes and raising their families in America. The feeling these days is expressed in this Yoruba saying that contrasts sharply to the earlier one: "Ibi ti aiye ba ba'ni, ni a ti nje," "Home is wherever you find life in abundance."

Immigrants settling in America have had to deal with a sense of cultural dislocation and shock as a result of being immersed in a varied and very different cultural milieu. In response, immigrant communities of Nigerians, Ghana-



ians, Ethiopians, and others express a common sentiment for passing on their culture to their children, for the sake of individual and group identity and for posterity.

One way they have begun to carry out this mandate is by forming cultural associations and, more recently, language and culture schools. For many African adults, of course, this is a much more formalized way of passing on the culture than they experienced themselves. In Africa, cultural training occurs daily in many aspects of life and through oral traditions. Members of African social associations exert communal efforts to form language and culture schools in response to their shocked realization that their children — those born here and those brought from Africa — will grow to be part of the melting pot of dominant American culture. Associations like the Isokan Yoruba Language Institute teach the Yoruba language to interested children and adults. The Ethiopian community organization offers a language and culture camp to children in response to parents' requests; Hermela Kebede, an officer of that organization, says parents ask for classes in Amharic so their children will be able to communicate when visiting relatives in Ethiopia. "Even here, we feel they need to know their own culture; they need to show part of who they are," she explains. Other language and culture schools were born from an individual's vision. For example, Remi Aluko (co-author of this article) founded and directs Camp-Africa, a summer day camp for children that provides cultural enrichment through formal and informal instruction in languages, history and geography.

*A student at the Ethiopian summer school explains geometric formulae in Amharic. Photo by Harold Dorwin*



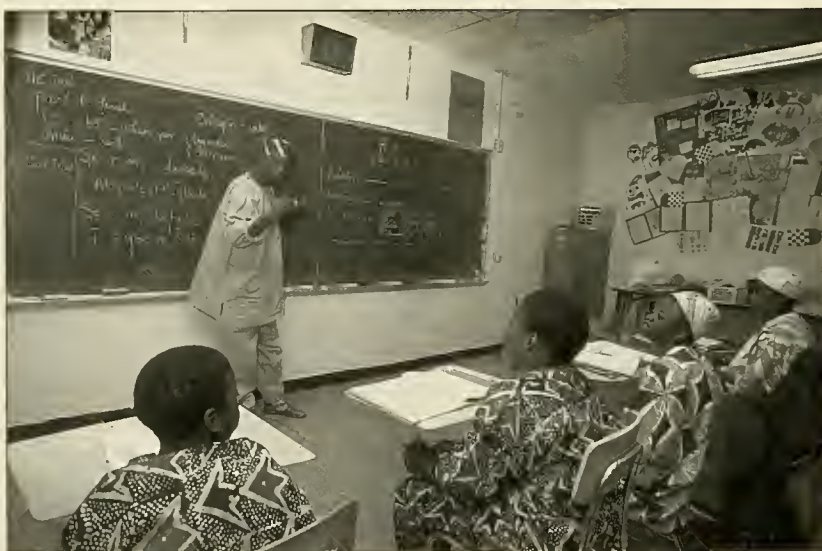
## African Immigrant Folklife



*(above) American-born children in Washington, D.C., learn dance and drumming at a school directed by Assane Konte, a Senegalese dancer and educator.*

Photo by Harold Dorwin

*(right) Instructors at a Saturday school sponsored by the organization Isokan Yoruba use teaching strategies they acquired as educators in Nigeria to teach the Yoruba language. Photo by Harold Dorwin*



music, games, cooking, storytelling, drama, crafts, and etiquette.

Parent-teacher groups run after-school cultural enrichment programs in public schools, while the Nigerian Youth Organization and the Ghanaian Volta Ensemble Dancers meet in family homes to teach dances and cooking to build relationships among children and adults. Obvious in all these efforts is that Africans are striving to provide their younger generation with cultural roots that will hold them firmly, help them grow, and give them a sense of identity, which many believe has helped them cope with the difficult transition to life in America.

Africans believe in strong family and cultural ties. This

belief provides the hope and the expectation of returning home. If and when they do return, they want their children or foreign spouse to be able to fit into their extended families. Hence, they have the desire to teach them about their culture, especially those aspects that have to do with the etiquette of respect for elders, eating in public, greetings, and dress. Dr. Akinyele of the Isokan Yoruba organization explains, "We believe that

by teaching our children our culture we will one day go back to our fatherland triumphantly." With this kind of goal in mind, many culture schools are challenged to present language in an experiential context — to teach language and culture for use rather than as an academic study.

In language and culture schools, a community's adults brainstorm about which curriculum works and which does not; they strive to recruit teachers and students and find other participants — not always an easy task. One might assume most African children are in culture schools. On the contrary, for many African parents, such a concept is new, and commitment to such schools is not a priority;



# African Immigrant Folklife

many think they can teach their own children better at home. But many are waking up to the reality that kids learn American TV culture fast when parents are away at work and kids are home alone. The economics of survival prevents many parents from passing on any significant amount of culture. Hence, the future of language schools looks promising.

Some proprietors of language schools have an ultimate goal of providing a cultural immersion program during summer vacations, in which American-born children would go to their home country in Africa to gain authentic experience as they interact daily with custodians of their culture.

The success of many existing cultural schools cannot be measured yet, because they are still very young. Many of them have “teething” problems, with finances sometimes insufficient to hire qualified and interested teachers for the children. However, some experience success, even if not by standard measures. Camp-Africa reports that positive, significant, and lasting marks have been left with many of the children who have passed through the camp. Parents and children interviewed reported that children feel good about themselves and about their African heritage, while many still sing the traditional songs they learned in camp. The future of language and culture schools looks bright in the light of the present situation of the African immigrant community in the Washington, D.C., metropolitan area.

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*Remi Aluko is a mother of five, educator, writer, and one of the community scholars of the African Immigrant Folklife Project. She founded Camp-Africa, an educational summer program which exposes young people to the traditions and history of her Nigerian homeland and other African countries and communities.*

*Diana Sherblom is an educator trained in anthropology who has interned with the African Immigrant Folklife Project since last year. She interviewed the directors of several language and culture schools for this article.*

## Make Someone Heavy!

### Makele Faber

In Senegal you greet people heavily, that is, *tedinne*, which literally means “make heavy.” When Senegalese people greet you heavily, you know they think you are important. And the more time they spend greeting you, the more consideration they show for you, the “heavier” you become.

Throughout Africa, greetings begin every interaction and create the basis for all social relationships. Greetings become even more important in African immigrant communities, who maintain traditions of greeting among themselves and pass them on to their American-born children, not only to create the social ties that bind them but also to remind them of the many social customs of home.

Here is a short list of greetings. Join the tradition and use them to say hello to participants in the African Immigrant Program!

**Arabic** - *Ahlan wa sahlán* — Hello.

**Amharic** - *Enkwandehna metah chu* —  
Hello and welcome.

**Oromo** - *Ashamaa* — Hello.

**Susu** - *Ima ma* — Hi.  
*T'na moufe* — How are you?  
Did anything bad stay with  
you overnight? — (a morning  
greeting).

**Akan** - *Ete sen* — How is it?  
*Eye* — Fine.

**Luo** - *Oimore* — Hello.

**Sesotho** - *Dumela* —  
Hello (and response  
to hello).  
*Uphela joang* —  
How are you?

**Ijo** - *To baroa* — Hello.  
*Nda'ni la'oku* — How are you?

**Igbo** - *Daa lu or nde wo* — Hello.  
*Ke du* — How is it?

**Yoruba** - *Ekaro* — Good morning.

*Ekasan* — Good day.

*Ekalé* — Good evening.

**Wolof** - *Nan'gu deff* — How are you?

*Mangui fi rekk* — I am fine.

**Diola** - *Kasumai* — How are you?

*Kasumi kepp* — (response).

**Mandinka** - *Hera bay* — Do you  
have peace?

*Hera dorong* —

Peace only.

**Somali** - *Iska waran* — Hello.

*Nabad* — (response).

**Zulu** - *San bonani* — Hello.

**Swahili** - *Hujambo* —

Hello (to one person).

*Sijambo* — (response).

*Hamjambo* — Hello (to  
more than one person).

*Habari* — What's the news?

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*Makele Faber is a second-generation Guinean American. She worked at the Center for Folklife Programs & Cultural Studies as an intern for seven months last year on the Working at the Smithsonian program and is currently conducting field research on area African immigrant students for this year's African Immigrant Program. She works full time in the political department of NARAL (National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League).*



# African Immigrant Music & Dance in Washington, D.C.

*From a Research Report by  
Kofi Kissi Dompere & Cece Modupé Fadopé*

and skills to the regional economy and enliven the local cultural environment through their art, clothing, adornment, and food. It is their music and dance, however, that have most strikingly transformed the cultural terrain. The

**A**s African people have migrated to different parts of the world including the United States, their artistic expression of their values and beliefs has helped them to survive. Recent immigrant Africans in the Washington, D.C., area contribute labor

broad range and the wide variety of contexts of African music and dance styles to be found in and around the city reflect the cultural diversity of its African-born residents. African immigrant music in metropolitan Washington includes sacred music such as Coptic liturgical music in Ethiopian churches, Muslim devotional chanting in Senegalese Sufi gatherings, Nigerian and Ghanaian gospel music based on popular highlife rhythms, and ceremonial music like praise songs and epic poetry. Popular dance music such as Zairian *soukous*, Cameroonian *makossa*, *shaabi* from Egypt and Morocco, and Nigerian highlife are also part of the area's musical soundscape. Musicians perform live at local community events, at restaurants, in homes, and in places of worship. Music circulates via



(above) The increasing appreciation of African polyrhythms has created a demand for live music. During any spring-summer season, the sounds of Majek Fashek, Soukous Stars, Aster Aweke, and Lucky Dube can be heard at concert halls and music festivals throughout the city. In addition to the African musicians who visit annually from Africa and Europe, a number of local groups have sprung up. Itadi Bonney and the Bakula Band play African highlife and soukous music. The recordings of Mr. Banney, an exile from Togo, include *Mayi Africa* and *I-Man*, both produced in Washington.

Photo courtesy Itadi Bonney Productions



(left) Large music stores carry African music of internationally known popular artists like Fela Kuti, Miriam Makeba, and Salif Keita. But new specialty retailers such as Simba International Records are making a wider range of African music, artists, and videos available to area residents. Photo by Harold Dorwin



(left) Much of the production of African music in the area has been the effort of enterprising individuals. Ibrahim Change Bah and his African Music Gallery Productions, for example, have not only provided a retail outlet for music but also produced Syran Mbenza on the CD *Bana*, the Soukous Stars in *Soukous Attack*, Thierry Mantuka and Gerry Dialungana in *Classic O.K. Jazz*, and Tabu Ley Rachereau in *Baby Pancake-Aba*. Eddie Asante's labors produced *Timeless Highlife* by C.K. Mann and Nkai by Pat Thomas of Ghana. Lately, System 77 of Yaw Acheampong Sekyere has been reproducing and marketing Ghanaian highlife music. In this photograph, Ibrahim spins discs on his weekly radio program on WDCU. Photo by Harold Dorwin



# African Immigrant Folklife

audiotape and videotape cassettes, CD, community radio, and cable television programs. Events like independence day dances bring together people who have come to the United States from the same country of origin. In the Washington area, immigrant Africans celebrate themselves by coming together and sharing traditions within a new community. They create ethnic music and dance troupes to educate their children and others unfamiliar with their cultural heritage.

Tastes in music and knowledge of dance can be markers that define boundaries between community insiders and outsiders. They can also bridge communities. Jamaican reggae music, for example, in which Ethiopia is a central symbol of African world heritage, is embraced by young

Ethiopian immigrants in Washington, D.C., and performed as part of the musical repertoire of Nigerian, Gambian, and Ghanaian musicians. The messages of African music have found many an ear in metropolitan Washington. The photographs and descriptions that follow illustrate some of the varied contexts of African music in the area.

*Cece Modupé Fadopé is a Nigerian-born journalist and host of the radio program "African Perspectives" on WPFW. In addition to his role as the originator and host of WPFW's "African Rhythms and Extensions," Kofi Kissi Dompere, who is of Ghanaian origin, teaches economics at Howard University. The essay by Ann Olumba on community radio profiles these authors at greater length.*



(above) Somali oud musician Hasan Gure plays for friends at an informal gathering in Falls Church, Virginia. They sing songs from their childhood in Somalia, songs composed during their struggles for independence, songs of praise and advice to their sons and daughters, and songs of their experiences in exile. Photo by Harold Dorwin



(right) Ethnic and regional community organizations like the Volta Club organize traditional Ewe music and dance groups to create an atmosphere of family from which members derive support, assistance, and cultural fulfillment in time of need, sorrow, or joy (see Joan Frosch-Schroder 1991). Photo by Ebo Ansah



(above) Young members of an Ethiopian Christian congregation play the kebero, a traditional drum, and sing during a service celebrating the new year. Photo by Harold Dorwin



### Nile Ethiopian Ensemble: Profile of an African Immigrant Music & Dance Group

Betty J. Belanus, from research by  
Tesfaye Lemma & Dagnachew Abebe

More than 40,000 Washington-area residents claim the Ethiopian region as their birthplace. They are members of several culturally, religiously, linguistically, and ethnically diverse communities. The largest is Amharic, but the area also includes Tigrean, Oromo, Eritrean, and Gurage. Tesfaye Lemma, a longtime advisor and community scholar of the African Immigrant Folklife Project, is the founder of the Center for Ethiopian Arts and Culture and of the Nile Ethiopian Ensemble. The center, like many other African immigrant organizations, promotes traditional culture for the benefit of their youth and the understanding of the general American community. And, like many African immigrant music and dance groups, the ensemble presents traditions from many peoples — in



Donned in traditional clothing and carrying traditional instruments, the Nile Ethiopian Ensemble poses for a photo. Photo courtesy Nile Ethiopian Ensemble

this case, those from the Horn of Africa — in their performances.

The ensemble often performs with Seleshe Damessae, a master of the *kerar* (six-stringed lyre), who learned to play from his father. Damessae spent four years studying the traditions of the *Azmaris*, itinerant performers in northern Ethiopia, from whom he is descended. He now teaches young apprentices to make and play their own *kerars* here in Washington, D.C.

Most members of the ensemble started performing as youngsters in Ethiopia. "I enjoyed dancing with my

friends during holidays like Easter, New Year, Christmas, and also weddings. Many people from the neighborhood admired my talent, and I continued my singing and dancing career in school," said dancer Abebe Belew, who was born in Gondar Province.

Like singer Selamawit Nega, most future members of the ensemble in the late 1970s were recruited or forced to join music and dance groups sponsored by the former Ethiopian government "to educate for propaganda purposes." Dancer Almaze Getahun recalls that when his family objected to this, "My father was labeled a revolutionary, and they sent him to jail." During this time, members of the ensemble learned songs and dances from many Ethiopian ethnic groups.

Most of the ensemble members eventually moved to Addis Ababa, the capital of Ethiopia, and joined musical groups that toured the Middle East, Europe, and the United States. Tesfaye Lemma defected to the United States while on a tour in 1987. As musicians and dancers arrived in the Washington area, Lemma formed the ensemble. And, in accordance with the Amharic proverb, "*Kes be kes inkulal be igru yehedal*" (Slowly, slowly, even an egg will walk), the group has developed a loyal audience for their performances in the Washington, D.C., area and beyond.

### Suggested Reading

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- \_\_\_\_\_. ed. *Newsletter of the Center for Ethiopian Arts and Culture*. P.O. Box 73236, Washington, DC 20056-0236.



On the weekends, musicians from neighboring regions of Tunisia, Morocco, Egypt, and Algeria sometimes stay late at local North African restaurants like Casablanca performing music together in informal sessions attended by family and friends from home. New groups form from such gatherings. The Kasbah Band, musicians of Moroccan origin, perform both Moroccan shaabi and Algerian rai popular music at a holiday banquet of the Algerian-American Association of Greater Washington, D.C. Photo by Harold Dorwin



# A Taste of Home: African Immigrant Foodways

**Nomvula Mashoai Cook & Betty J. Belanus**

In almost all African cultures food is a traditional art. Simple or elaborate, frugal or opulent, food plays a vital role in affirming individual ethnic identities and in modeling cultural diversity. Recent African immigrants to the Washington metropolitan area come from different regions of the continent.

And, as they create a taste of home through their foodways, they discover the similarities and differences in their fellow immigrants' foods. They also come to know the common problems they share cooking "authentic" dishes and recreating the contexts of serving them. Immigrant groups sustain continuity by cooking everyday meals similar to those that nourish families in Africa, by using food in the context of traditional celebrations, and by establishing African restaurants.

Mealtimes in Africa bring families together: the generation gap between young and old can be bridged; in conversations, children may learn proverbs, their meanings, and other wisdom from their elders. Here in the United States, however, African immigrant families are often too busy to sit down to a traditional-style meal every day of the week, or sometimes even once a week. But great effort is made to introduce to children traditional foods and the etiquette of eating.

While most ingredients needed for traditional foods are now available in the Washington, D.C., area at specialized grocery stores serving African, Caribbean, Latin American, and Asian cooks, this was not always the case for earlier immigrants. Olaniyi Areke, a film maker originally from Nigeria, recalls trying to find something in an American grocery store resembling the staple *fufu*, made in West Africa from cassava flour. The closest thing he could find was Bisquick!

Some African immigrants with enough yard space and access to seeds from home grow their own vegetables and herbs. Different varieties of greens, many of them not to be found even in specialty stores, are popular garden items. Sally Tsuma, originally from the Kalenjin region of Kenya, grows five types of greens around her home near Catholic University. Sally cooks a large batch of

greens on the weekend and serves them throughout the week, heating them in the microwave. The correct combination of greens is the secret to the taste, as Sally says, "When you cook [the greens] alone, it tastes like something's missing."

Comfort foods for African immigrants are staples like *fufu*, or the Southern African *papa* (made from corn flour), roughly equivalent to American mashed potatoes. Typical dishes accompanying the staples — depending on the region of Africa you hail from — are stews and soups made with palm oil, puréed peanuts, dried or fresh fish, okra, tomatoes, onions, hot peppers, black-eyed peas,

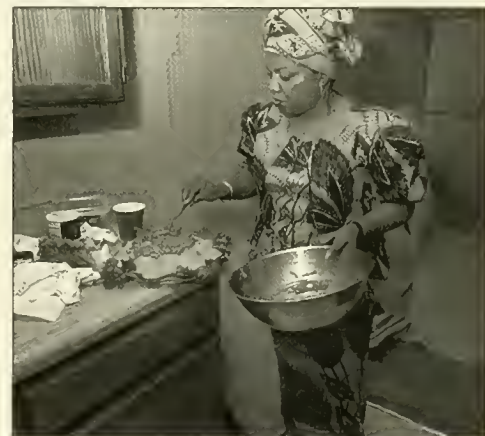
lentils, many different kinds of meat, and an array of spices. But there are many foods considered more exotic by most Americans that also count among the comfort foods of some Africans: goat's head, for instance, or lamb's intestines. Foods served often reflect a combination of cultures, as Dorothy Osei-Kuffuor, originally from Ghana, says: "The main dishes in my house are African, though the children enjoy some American dishes, too."

Living in America, some African immigrant women break traditional food taboos. Nsedu Onyile wrote in a *Washington Post* article:

Let me tell you about the goat head. Where I come from, the women fix and serve it in a big platter but only the men are entitled to eat it. As a child, I fantasized about the taste of the goat head and could not wait for an opportunity to eat one.



*Members of the Saint Mark Coptic Orthodox Church in Fairfax, Virginia, celebrate Christmas with a variety of traditional foods. Photo © Roland Freeman*



*Veronica Abu, originally from Ghana, puts the finishing touches on a dish of gari foto, a stew made with roasted cassava powder and black-eyed peas. Photo by Ena Fox*



## African Immigrant Folklife



(above) Sally Tsuma uses every available section of the front yard of her home near Catholic University in Washington, D.C., to grow greens like those she enjoyed in Kenya. Photo by Harold Dorwin

(left) Hermela Kebede prepares a traditional Ethiopian coffee ceremony for friends at her home in Silver Spring. Photo by Harold Dorwin

Now in a total declaration of independence, I buy a goat from the slaughterhouse, fix the head first, and sit down to catch up on missed years. I eat every bit of this delicacy, appreciating what those men enjoyed during their roundtable goat conferences in our sunny yard back in Nigeria.

In the Washington, D.C., area, such splendid African foods are more often served at family or community celebrations. Every major rite of passage — birth, coming-of-age, marriage, and death — is celebrated with specific foods. At a traditional naming ceremony in the Yoruba community, for instance, a tray of symbolic ritual foods is prepared that includes salt (for joy and happiness), palm oil, cola nut, bitter cola and alligator pepper (for medicinal purposes), and honey (for sweetness). After the ceremony, a meal including fried plantains, two rice dishes, goat stew with *fufu*, boiled yam, and chicken is served to all the guests.

Other types of celebrations bring communities together seasonally. One example is the *braai*, a South African cookout celebrated in the summer. Typically, the women congregate in the kitchen, cooking and singing. The men bond with each other and with their sons while preparing *imbuzi ne mvu* (goat and lamb) for the barbecue grill with such savory condiments as South African curry or cumin. The *braai* usually starts at noon and may last until midnight. Besides eating and reconnecting with old friends, people might listen to South African township music. Conversation might center around political, economic, or social issues and their effect on people back home.

Children are encouraged to play games such as *lebekere* (hide-and-seek).

Community-bridging celebrations that are hybrids of American and African traditions also involve food. At the Cook household in suburban Maryland, this year's Kwanzaa celebration (an African-American holiday) brought together African immigrants from all parts of the continent, African Americans, and White Americans. The food was potluck and included

roast turkey, Christmas cookies, Swedish-style meatballs, and a rice dish from an Egyptian guest. The centerpiece dishes, however, were cooked with great loving care (and no visible recipes) by Mimi Green, originally from Niger in West Africa. They included *yassa* chicken (a Senegalese dish), *egusi* spinach (spinach with ground melon seeds), and *mafi* (meatballs in a peanut butter sauce), all served with mounds of perfect white rice. As is the custom in many African cultures, a libation offering of drink for the ancestors was poured on the ground before the meal was eaten.

Other occasions bring generations together and reinforce language and customs. Amharic women in the Washington, D.C., area meet at one another's homes for a coffee ceremony. The coffee is roasted and prepared in a special pot and served with crunchy grain snacks. Kenyan women in the area try to meet once a month for *chai* (tea) and *mandazi* (doughnuts).

Restaurants offering many African cuisines have mushroomed around the metropolitan Washington area in the past ten years. Many find their homes in the ethnically diverse Adams Morgan area of the city including well-established Ethiopian restaurants like Meskerem, Addis Ababa, and The Red Sea, as well as newer ventures such as the Casa Africana, which serves West African food, and the South African Cafe. Cecelia Vilakazi, owner/proprietor of the South African Cafe, whose parents emigrated from South Africa to the United States when she was a teenager, explains her motivation to start her restaurant in 1995: "I looked and I saw Ethiopians have restaurants,



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people from Ghana, Nigeria, and Brazil, but no South Africa. So the timing was right to introduce the rich culinary spread that's there in South Africa. I saw an opportunity and said this was something I've always wanted to do."

These restaurants, of course, cater not only to African immigrant clients but also to culinarily adventurous Americans. Some attempt, therefore, is made to serve foods that appeal to a wide spectrum of people. Cecelia admits it takes some education for those unfamiliar with some of the dishes served at the South African Cafe, such as *bobotie*, a meat loaf with curry spices and raisins. "It's tasty, but you have to grow up eating it. When people do try it, we show them how to eat it, and they like it." She has toned down the heavily meat-oriented South African diet to accommodate American tastes.

There are also foods prepared exclusively for a busy African immigrant clientele. At lunchtime, taxicabs line the front of the Akosombo restaurant near Chinatown, where the African-born drivers can get cafeteria-style service like that in the restaurants back in Ghana. African immigrant caterers, some working out of their home kitchens, deliver traditional foods to wedding receptions, naming ceremonies, and birthday or graduation parties. Whether cooked as a simple dish at home, for an elaborate celebration, or for sale to the public, African immigrant foods embody cultural connections. They create a continuity with custom back home, and they reflect the circumstances of living in a new place. Like other aspects of

African immigrant folklife in the Washington, D.C., area, foodways are continually recreated and offer a glimpse of a community in the process of defining itself.

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*Nomvula Mashoai Cook was born in South Africa and raised in Lesotho. She is a recent graduate of Strayer College with a Bachelor of Science degree in business administration and will be continuing her studies at Howard University in African studies this fall. She has been a member of the African Immigrant Folklife Study group since 1994.*

*Betty J. Belanus is a complete novice at African cooking but has enjoyed eating her way through the research for this article. She is an Education Specialist at the Center for Folklife Programs & Cultural Studies and the Co-Curator of the African Immigrant Program.*

## Suggested Readings

- Brown, Linda K., and Kay Mussell. 1984. *Ethnic and Regional Foodways in the United States*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press.
- Hafner, Dorinda. 1993. *Taste of Africa*. Berkeley: Ten Speed Press.
- Grant, Rosamund. 1995. *Taste of Africa*. New York: Smithmark Publishers.
- Kirlin, Katherine, and Thomas Kirlin. 1991. *Smithsonian Folklife Cookbook*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- Onyile, Nsedu. 1995. I'll Have the Goat's Head, Please. *Washington Post*. 5 March.

## Kele Wele: Ghanaian Spicy Fried Ripened Plantains

2-3 well-ripened yellow plantains  
4-5 cups of oil for deep frying  
1 level tsp. ground hot, red pepper  
1 medium onion, chopped  
1 garlic clove, chopped  
thumb-size piece of fresh ginger, chopped; or  
1 level tsp. ground ginger (ground ginger does not give the dish as full a taste)  
salt to taste  
Increase ingredients by 1/4 when adding more plantains to the recipe.

Peel plantains, cut into one-inch pieces, wash, and place in a bowl. Blend pepper, chopped ginger, chopped onion, and chopped garlic. Add blended spices to the bowl with the cut plantains. Coat plantains well with the mixed spices. Deep-fry pieces of spicy plantain in hot oil until golden brown.

Serve *Kele Wele* after the main course as a dessert.  
**Servings:** 4



—Recipe by **Veronica Abu**, a community scholar and cultural activist, who enjoys sharing traditions and culture from her homeland, Ghana.



# African Immigrant Community Broadcast Media

**Ann Nosiri Olumba**

*The following article has been compiled from edited excerpts of a research report written by community scholar Ann Olumba on African media hosts in the Washington, D.C., area as part of the African Immigrant Folklife Study. Other excerpts have been published in an article in the journal Cultural Survival.*

**A**lthough nationally syndicated programs such as National Public Radio's "Afro-Pop" are well known across the country, Washington, D.C., radio stations often feature local shows that blend traditional and popular African music, showcase local African music groups, and inform about Africa-related activities around town. These programs play an important role in building community consciousness, introducing African music to Americans, and keeping music traditions vital for immigrants.

Many African immigrants hold to aspects of their cultures tenaciously and hold them in esteem, regardless of the many difficulties they face in doing so. To many of them, culture is central, something to be practiced and maintained. Undermining immigrants' self-esteem and reverence for their traditions are the widely held, ignorant, negative stereotypes of Africans and their cultures. African traditional customs have been destroyed in many ways, but none has had more far-reaching impact than mass communication: television, film, radio, newspapers, and periodicals have all been used to denigrate Africans and their traditions.

But although the mass media can have a negative effect on an immigrant group's traditional culture, they can also be a means through which cultural traditions are celebrated and a larger public's respect for them increased. The purpose of this article is to demonstrate the importance of mass media as an instrument of social and cultural uplift, so that such media can be further mobilized to propagate African traditions and cultures in the United States. Although African radio programs in the Washington, D.C., area are plagued by lack of funds, limited transmitting power, and often short duration (ranging in length from thirty minutes to three hours per week), African immigrants in the media use their resources in the struggle to

change negative assumptions about Africans and their traditions.

"The African Connection" on WDCU-FM and "African Perspectives" and "African Rhythms and Extensions" on WPFW-FM operate in the greater Washington metropolitan area. These weekly programs share common goals: to project and promote African cultural traditions in a positive way, to help maintain and strengthen links between African immigrants and their homelands, and to provide a forum where African immigrants can express themselves and discuss issues concerning Africa.

## **"THE AFRICAN CONNECTION"**

Mr. Ibrahim Kanja Bah is the host of "The African Connection" — broadcast on WDCU, 90.1 FM Saturday afternoon from 12 noon to 3 p.m. — a music program and call-in show that features music from Africa and the Caribbean. The program's goal is to educate the American public about African and Caribbean culture and at the same time to entertain them. As education, the program projects African culture in a more positive way than the negative assumptions and conclusions about Africans and their cultures so widespread in the media. The program concentrates mainly on up-to-date music — both modern and traditional in style — from different countries of Africa. Some of the kinds of African music played on this program are: *kora* music, *juju*, *fuji*, *highlife*, and *soukous*. In addition, the program plays Caribbean music such as calypso, reggae, and *zouk*. African immigrants have benefited from this program. Some who had little or no idea about the many different varieties of African music have come to understand more about its diversity in the African world.

Mr. Ibrahim Kanja Bah, who was born in Sierra Leone, has been hosting "The African Connection" for several years. He had no background in radio broadcasting when he started hosting the program. "'The African Connection' provides a way for people to begin to understand that Africa is dynamic, alive, and well," he said, "aside from the Africa that they hear about in the news."

## **"AFRICAN PERSPECTIVES"**

"African Perspectives," a public affairs program focusing on Africa, is produced and hosted by Ms. Cece Modupé Fadopé. The program's goal is to shift public focus from existing negative stereotypes and assumptions about Africa to how ordinary people meet the challenges of



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accomplishing social and economic development on the continent. The listening audience is a cross-spectrum of Africans, African Americans, African Caribbeans, Africans from South America, and others interested in African issues.

Through "African Perspectives," African immigrants convey who they are in their own voices. Concerned with the immigrants' welfare, the program has on many occasions invited experts to give suggestions and valuable advice on problem areas facing their communities. Immigration and naturalization law, for example, is one area the program has focused on; the position of women in the community is another. "African Perspectives" also focuses on cultural contributions made by African immigrants to American social life. Musical artists and sculptors from Sudan have come and shared their talents and experiences with listeners.

The program also serves as a link between African immigrants and their homelands, disseminating information of events as they happen in Africa, reported by Africans and with African perspectives. It receives very favorable reactions from its listeners and facilitates their opportunity for participation. It provides one way for African immigrants to share their political views and serves as a medium through which community events can be brought to their attention. "African Perspectives" receives appreciation from African immigrant communities, but its development process needs more grassroots financial support. The program has been on the air weekly for four years, on Fridays from 11:30 a.m. to midday.

Ms. Fadapé is a journalist and activist, born in Nigeria. She has hosted "African Perspectives" for three years. A graduate of the University of Maryland, she has taken numerous courses in communication over the years. She is very interested in using communication strategies to build and empower grassroots organizations. The idea for "African Perspectives," she said, "just came naturally to me. It is something useful that I want to do, and I have put a lot of time and energy in cultivating the skills that are needed.... I would like to make 'African Perspectives' part of a larger media communication strategy to build the image of Africa as it [really] is. Not have the major attention be on what the military governments do. Africa is its people. It's more than the government, it's more than the heads of states, and it's more than the crises that happen."



## "AFRICAN RHYTHMS AND EXTENSIONS"

"African Rhythms and Extensions" is hosted by Dr. Kofi Kissi Dompere and is broadcast on WPFW, 89.3 FM Sundays from 10 p.m. to 12 midnight. The program started more than ten years ago as "African Roots." The agenda of "African Rhythms and Extensions" is to promote African music in the United States and to share the African creative essence in rhythms; to promote awareness by African immigrant and non-African communities of the relationship between Black musical forms and of their roots in African musical forms; and to use music to bring people together in peace and understanding. The program is structured under three rubrics. "Meta Polyrythms" presents different traditional musical forms. A news section brings communities into contact with what is happening in the continent of Africa. And the "African Megamix in Polyrythms" presents modern African musical forms and their relationships to other Black musical forms. The objectives of "African Rhythms and Extensions" are to sell African music and to present African culture in its finest form. Musical performances are selected to show relationships and continuities among African musical forms and to demonstrate that on one level the musical languages are the same. Like "The African Connection," this program also projects an idea of African unity by educating Africans to other African musical styles they have never heard.

Dr. Kofi Kissi Dompere is a professor in the Department of Economics at Howard University. His country of

*Cece Modupé Fadapé interviews a human rights attorney on her weekly radio program, "African Perspectives," heard on WPFW-FM in Washington, D.C.*

*Photo by Harold Dorwin*



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origin is Ghana. He previously hosted a program called "World Rhythms" for four years, although he had no formal training in radio broadcasting. He acquired his knowledge about African musical forms and their cultural implications through reading. He has hosted the program for more than ten years, financing it himself and hosting it without pay. Dr. Dompere remarked, "I hope that people will understand through the 'African Rhythms and Extensions' program that Africa has a lot to offer in terms of civilization, and it would be useful to pay a little good attention. I hope that 'African Rhythms' would become not only an instrument of enjoyment but also an instrument of instruction."

While all of the radio hosts interviewed use different approaches, all are working toward a common goal, which is promoting and positively projecting African traditions and cultures. There is a real need for the establishment of an African radio station that would be under the management and directorship of African immigrants. Such a station would empower the African immigrants, giving them the freedom to select and present more cultural programs which address their needs and interests. In addition, they would be able to schedule and allocate enough time for each program, including cultural programs for young people and seniors. With their own radio stations under community management, the African immigrants would have the opportunity to express themselves more and share their feelings and opinions with regard to their cultures and traditions.

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*Ann Nosiri Olumba is a community scholar and research consultant who has studied the role of the media in her native Nigeria as well as in metropolitan Washington, D.C., where she currently resides.*

## African & Caribbean Radio and Television Shows in the Washington, D.C., Metropolitan Area

### "African Connections"

WDCU, 90.1 FM

Saturday, 12 noon - 3 p.m.

Ibrahim Kanja Bah, host

### "African Rhythms and Extensions"

WPFW, 89.3 FM

Sunday, 10 p.m. - midnight

Dr. Kofi Kissi Dompere, host

### "2000 Black"

WPFW, 89.3 FM

Monday, midnight - 3 a.m.

Bafoo, host

### "Konbitlakey"

WPFW, 89.3 FM

Saturday, 10 p.m. - midnight

Yvesdayiti, host

### "Aend Ethiopia"

WUST, 1120 AM

Sunday, 3 - 5 p.m.

### "African Perspectives"

WPFW, 89.3 FM

Friday, 11:30 a.m. - noon

Cece Madupé Fadopé, hostess

### "Yet Hibret"

WUST, 1120 AM

Saturday, 2 - 3 p.m.

Ethiopian Evangelical Church

WUST, 1120 AM

Saturday, 3 - 3:30 p.m.

Senegambia Program

WUST, 1120 AM

Saturday, 3:30 - 4 p.m.

### "Netsanet"

WUST, 1120 AM

Sunday, 1 - 2 p.m.

### "Evening Exchange"

WHMM-TV, Channel 32

Thursday, 1 - 2 p.m.

Kojo Nnamdi, host

### "Africa Plus"

Check local cable listings.



# African Immigrant Enterprise in Metropolitan Washington, D.C.: A Photo Essay

*Kinuthia Macharia*

Starting a new business requires innovation, risk taking, hard work, and a lot of discipline. For African immigrants, who have settled in the Washington, D.C. area at least 7,000 miles from home, even more is involved. African immigrants must learn American business practices, laws, and success strategies. Many rely on traditional skills, such as hair braiding, tailoring or dressmaking, and cooking as a basis for their businesses. At the same time, they rely on traditional social networks within their immigrant communities — friendship, kinship, and people from the same region or ethnic group back home — to help them succeed.

Some businesses cater mainly to fellow immigrants looking for services and goods available in Africa, such as the specialty groceries found at the Oyingbo International Store in Hyattsville, Mary-

land. Others serve as a gathering place for the pan-African community, like the Soukous Club and Serengeti Club on Georgia Avenue in Washington, D.C. Still others find their main clientele to be African Americans in search of their roots: for instance, stores specializing in African clothing, music, and crafts.

These photographs suggest the range of businesses established by African immigrants in the greater metropolitan area of Washington, D.C.

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*Dr. Kinuthia Macharia, originally from Kenya, is a professor in the Sociology Department at The American University. He previously taught at Harvard University. His research interests include culture and entrepreneurship in East Africa and African immigrants in the United States.*

## Suggested Reading

Light, Ivan. 1984. Immigrant and Ethnic Enterprise in North America. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 7: 195-216.  
Macharia, Kinuthia. 1997. "The African Entrepreneur in the Washington, D.C., Metropolitan Area: Tradition in the Service of Entrepreneurship." Research report for the African Immigrant Folklife Study Project.



Obeng International Grocery in Hyattsville, Maryland, is one of several African immigrant-owned grocery stores in the Washington, D.C., area. In addition to fresh produce such as yams, cassava, cola nuts, special kinds of peppers and fresh herbs, and packaged spices and condiments imported from Africa, such stores often carry newspapers, magazines, videos and recordings, and other products from home. They are also outlets for African immigrant-produced items such as baked goods from the West African Bakery in Waadbridge, Virginia.

Photo by Harold Dorwin



# African Immigrant Folklife

*(right) Following centuries-old traditions of long-distance trade throughout Africa, itinerant vendors of African decorative arts and jewelry have initiated businesses at many local street festivals in the District of Columbia's Malcolm X Park, in Alexandria, Virginia, and in Silver Spring, Maryland. A vendor, originally from Mali, displays his wares at Freedom Plaza in a manner learned from observing and imitating similar displays in West African tourist markets and European cities.*

Photo by Nomvula Cook



*(right) Thony Anyiam at his shop in the International Mall, Langley Park, Maryland. Thony Anyiam learned his tailoring skills from family members in his native Ivory Coast. His shop joins a number of other African immigrant-owned shops in the International Mall in Langley Park including Lagos Fabrics. In the traditional African manner, clients pick their fabrics and come to Thony Anyiam for a consultation on styles.*

*Videotapes as well as style books help clients decide on their garments, which will be worn for special occasions such as naming ceremonies, dances, and weddings.*

Photo by Harold Dorwin



*(above) Individual craftspeople such as Mamo Tessema, who creates fine ceramics and enameled jewelry, use traditional skills in new ways here in the Washington, D.C., area. For instance, Mr. Tessema produces pots and cups used for traditional coffee ceremonies; they otherwise would have to be imported from Ethiopia at great cost and risk of damage because of their fragility.*

*His coffee services, however, reflect Western ceramic techniques instead of the traditional unglazed pottery of Ethiopia. Another craftsman in the area, Namori Keita, uses his skill in woodcarving to create architectural artistry which he learned in Senegal and Mali.*

Photo by Harold Dorwin



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(below) Catering is done from restaurants, commercial kitchens, or homes in Washington, D.C., area African immigrant communities. Occasions catered include weddings, naming ceremonies, graduations, and cultural events such as Independence Day celebrations. Some caterers advertise their services in newsletters and other community publications, but many are known only by word of mouth. Photo by Harold Dorwin



(left) Over a dozen Ethiopian restaurants are located on and around 18th Street and Columbia Road in the Adams Morgan area of Washington, D.C., serving aromatic stews served over flat injera bread and strong coffees. While these restaurants offer a gathering place for the large Ethiopian community in the area, they also delight Washington diners and tourists from all over the world. A few West African restaurants and one representing South Africa have also sprung up in the area. In addition, African immigrant-owned grocery stores, record shops, and arts and crafts stores line 18th Street. Restaurant owner Cecelia Vilakazi likes to think of this blend of African businesses in Adams Morgan as the beginning of an "African renaissance" in Washington, D.C.

Photo by Harold Dorwin



(left) The hair-braiding industry in the United States has been stimulated by the presence of highly skilled entrepreneurial African women. This salon in the Mt. Pleasant area is one of many African immigrant-owned braiding salons in Washington, D.C.

Photo by Diana Baird N'Diaye



# Sacred Sounds: Belief & Society

James Early

*Throughout world history sacred sounds have served as a medium for human cultures to raise queries, advance beliefs, give praise, and inspire others to join in exploration of the mysteries of earthly existence and the greater universe.*

Reflecting the widespread and growing public awareness of and interest in religious beliefs and spiritual meaning in everyday life, the 1997 Festival of American Folklife program *Sacred Sounds: Belief & Society* features a variety of religious and spiritual traditions. Through performances and discussions with Festival visitors, Festival participants from Old Regular Baptist communities in Kentucky, hip hop Christian worshipers from The Bronx, New York, African-American gospel choirs and quartets, representatives of South African indigenous-Christian blends of worship and popular music, and practitioners of Islamic and Judaic traditions in Jerusalem, among other religious and cultural communities, will share their perspectives and feelings about the intrinsic nature of their sacred cultures and the musical extensions of their faiths into the secular world.

Throughout world history sacred sounds have served as a medium for human cultures to raise queries, advance beliefs, give praise, and inspire others to join in exploration of the mysteries of earthly existence and the greater universe. These sacred sound traditions encompass a broad range of

expressive forms: melodic and repetitive vocalizations called chants; sharp, passionate, emotion-filled hums, groans, shouts; percussive, rhythmic hand claps and foot stomps; and extended song, sermon, and instrumental arrangements. Instrumental music, sung prayers, and mystical chants have been used to communicate with the divine, to unite religious communities, and to express moral, political, social, and economic aspirations. Sacred sounds in many traditions are the central means for invocation of the spirits. The utterance of particular sounds is thought by many cultures to form a connection to all the elements of the universe. In some belief systems music and sound vibrations are pathways for healing body, mind, and spirit. Among the wide range of human expressive behavior, the capacity to infuse the joys, sorrows, and humility that characterize religious and spiritual beliefs into oral poetry, chants, songs, and instrumental music is certainly one of the most powerful and inspirational ways all peoples and cultures acknowledge the spirit of the Supreme in their lives.

Although *secular* and *sacred* are terms used to distinguish worldly and temporal concerns from the realm of the universal and the eternal, sacred sounds are not necessarily restricted to formal settings in which religious rituals are performed for followers. Civil rights struggles, national democratic liberation movements, and union picket lines are a few of the non-sacred spaces where religious music has been consistently and meaningfully incorporated into worldly affairs.

In the United States the predominance of Christianity and its related sacred text may readily bring to mind familiar references to sacred sounds: "Make a joyful noise unto the Lord.... Come before his presence with singing" (Psalm 100: 1-2); "My Lord, He calls me by the thunder... the trumpets sound within my soul..." (from "Steal Away" [African-American spiritual]). Inside and outside of the United States many other religious and spiritual traditions in diverse cultural communities also express profound beliefs through sacred sounds. For example, the Upanishads — Vedic sacred treatises of ancient India — teach that "the essence of sacred knowledge is word and sound, and the essence of word and sound is [the hummed syllable] OM." Although the languages of many religious texts and

*Support for this program comes from The Recording Industries Music Performance Trust Funds and the Republic of South Africa Department of Arts, Culture, Science, and Technology.*





*Hip hop, a contemporary form of oral culture created predominantly by African-American and Puerto Rican youth of the South Bronx, finds expression in the Christian rap ministry of Brothers Inc. 4 Da Lord.*

Photo © Alex Gomez

spoken rituals may be inaccessible to different cultural communities, sacred sounds are generally well received and understood as a means by which all cultures acknowledge higher states of wonder, consciousness, and order that transcend everyday thoughts, actions, and activities and connect one and all to the deeper recesses of the universe. Plato referred to "music as moral law ... the essence of order, [that] leads to all that is good, just and beautiful, of which it is the invisible, but nevertheless dazzling, passionate, and eternal form."

Physical migrations and telecommunications bring the world's religious cultures into new *mixed worship spaces*: increasingly, different religious services are held in the same place of worship at different times, and diverse religious services and styles of sacred music come into homes via radio and television. New encounters that bring previously isolated community worship traditions face to face sometimes challenge Plato's "essence of order" and literally jar the religious and spiritual assumptions — and the very ears — of those of us unfamiliar with other sacred traditions and expressive cultural behavior. For example, according to a recent *Washington Post* report, one of the long-time parishioners of Calvary Presbyterian Church in Alexandria, Virginia, took offense at a "particular African-

style service" in which Ghanaian immigrants in the congregation brought forth "offerings with song and swirling dance, accompanied by drums, synthesizer and electric guitar." On the other hand, the spiritual awareness of one of the church elders was expanded through the observance of a different cultural community's approach to his faith: "I never felt the spirit so strongly."

Festival visitors will meet a variety of religious practitioners and sacred sound performers whose religious and spiritual doctrines are quite similar in their acknowledgment of human existence in a grander scheme of organization created and ruled by a Supreme power(s). They will learn that each group (American Indian, Islamic, Buddhist, Christian, Hindu, Santería, Judaic, Mokhukhu of the Zion Christian Church of South Africa) may exhibit multiple variations on the sacred sounds of the same religious or spiritual doctrine. They will observe that, in communities defined by religious denomination, racial identity, cultural style, age group, and gender, sacred sounds are expressed through a rich variety of artistic forms, with a wide range of emotional intensity, in a broad spectrum of meditative tenors and creative participatory dynamics between performers and audiences.

Festival visitors will learn how the *lined-out singing* of



## Sacred Sounds

the Old Regular Baptists from the coal-mining country of the southern Appalachian Mountains reflects a multi-cultural history of English/Scots/Irish-based American melodic traditions. They will witness the intensely expressed belief of the Zion Christian Church of South Africa — the largest Christian church on the continent of Africa — and hear how it melds traditional native religious beliefs and the teachings of Christian missionaries. Through intimate conversations with participants, visitors will learn about Asian Pacific American sacred

traditions, which are increasingly visible, audible, vibrant elements of new and old communities across the United States. Performers of *Santería*, a synthesis of West African Yoruba Orisha worship and Catholicism practiced in Cuba, the United States, and areas of South America, will demonstrate and inform visitors how cross-fertilization between culturally different worship traditions can lead to what is generally referred to as syncretism. In the case of *Santería*, song, instrumental music (*orús*), and dance are as central to the basic character of the religious ritual as the spoken word is in other religions.

The narrative stage in the *Sacred Sounds* program is the setting in which visitors can pursue such questions as how the age-old process of passing different religious traditions and styles from one generation to the next interacts with the ever-changing popular music scene. Young visitors and adults can jointly inquire about *hip hop*, a highly popular music form among youth around the world that is a creative way for some of today's youth ministries, such as Brothers Inc. 4 Da Lord, to express their Christian faith — despite the fact that hip hop is roundly criticized for promotion of violence, misogyny, and vulgar language.

There is no substitute for direct experience with the vast array of sacred musical traditions that make up the human family. As sacred belief systems from around the world become more mobile and their musical traditions more evident in our home communities, we are afforded opportunities to visit different worship services and community festivals, make new acquaintances, and learn and appreciate first-hand the wondrous worlds of sacred sounds and beliefs. Sacred sound performers from throughout the country and around the world are also well documented and preserved in the archives of Smithsonian Folkways Recordings, a veritable museum of the air at the Smithsonian Center for Folklife Programs & Cultural Studies.

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*James Early is the Director of Cultural Studies and Communications at the Center for Folklife Programs & Cultural Studies.*

### Suggested Listening from the Smithsonian Folkways Collection

*Black American Religious Music  
from Southeast Georgia*. 19.

*Festival of Japanese Music in  
Hawai'i*, Vol. 1. 8885.

*Old Believers: Songs of the  
Nekrasov Cassacks*. 40462.

*Rhythms of Rapture: Sacred Musics  
of Haitian Vodou*. 40464.

*Sacred Rhythms of Cuban Santería*.  
40419.

*Wade in the Water: African  
American Sacred Music  
Traditions, Volumes 1-4*.  
40076.

*Yaruba Drums from Benin,  
West Africa*. 40440.



# Faith in Action: Mokhukhu of the Zion Christian Church

*Marcus Ramogale & Sello Galane*

*When they dance  
Mokhukhu, [they]  
frequently leap into the  
air and then come  
down stamping their  
feet on the ground with  
their huge white boots  
... in order  
symbolically to  
subjugate evil.*

The Zion Christian Church (ZCC), founded in 1924 by Engenas Lekganyane, is the largest of the African indigenous churches in South Africa. These churches “combine Christianity with some elements of traditional African belief” (Joyce 1989:295). Thus they are, in several significant ways, different from the mainstream Christian churches, brought to the southern African subcontinent by European missionaries, that adhere to conventional Christian beliefs and practices.

The ZCC belongs to the so-called independent churches of South Africa — described as independent because they are not under “white control” (Lukhaimane 1980:1). The Zionist churches did not break away directly from the mission establishment; their origins lie, instead, in Zion City, Illinois, where John Alexander Dowie (1847-1907) founded the Christian Catholic Apostolic Church in 1896. The influence of his church spread to South Africa in 1904 when Daniel Bryant baptized several Africans (see Lukhaimane 1980:14).

Independent Ethiopian churches, on the other hand, have their roots in the history of resistance to the imperial system. In the thinking of many White missionaries, the success of Christianization depended on Westernization, and they intertwined religious conversion with the imposition of new cultural norms. This, inevitably, led to the phenomenon of “cultural deprivation” among African converts. As a consequence, in the second half of the 19th century some converts attempted to protect and perpetuate certain aspects of African culture. For example, the rise of “nativistic” sentiment prompted the Reverend Nehemiah Tile to break away from the Methodist Church in 1884. The Ethiopian movement in South Africa is often traced to this event, because thereafter the breakaway church movement gained momentum.

The separatist movement was not just a rejection of alien cultural values; it was also aimed at revitalizing the African society which colonial conquest had rendered ineffectual. According to some scholars, the separatist movement can be seen as the struggle of the African to assert his significance as a human being. This significance he knew very well in his home before his culture was disrupted by the impact of Western culture. He had had to surrender it in the face of overwhelming and awe-inspiring wonders of the White man. He was then left without purpose, and his degeneration as a human being began. The Separatist Churches restore this sense of purpose (Vilakazi, Mthethwa, and Mpanza 1986:17-18).



To this end, “indigenous” customs were, and continue to be, foregrounded within a Christian framework in the independent churches.

According to Lukhaimane, the ZCC arose out of “personal differences” that existed between Engenas Lekganyane and the elders of the Zion Apostolic Church and the Zion Apostolic Faith Mission — churches of which Lekganyane was once a member (1980:2). Thus the formation of the ZCC was a “Black from Black” secession (Lukhaimane 1980:2). What places the ZCC firmly within the separatist or independent movement and closely links it to the Ethiopian churches is not provenance but a common emphasis on the retention of certain African customs and norms.

As a Zionist organization, the ZCC is characterized by an emphasis on divine and faith healing, purification rites, dancing, night communion, river baptism, the holy spirit, taboos, prophesying, and so on.<sup>1</sup> There are several formations within the ZCC which have been created to provide prayer and communion forums for members. The main ones are Mokhukhu, the Female Choir, the Male Choir, the Brass Band, and Nkedi. Mokhukhu is generally regarded by members as the most important of all the groups.<sup>2</sup>

### THE ORIGINS OF MOKHUKHU

In Sepedi the word *mokhukhu* means a “shack” or “shanty.” In Zion City Moria — the headquarters of the ZCC — situated some 40 km east of Pietersburg in the Northern Province, there are many such shacks.<sup>3</sup> The manner in which the word *mokhukhu* came to be applied to a dominant formation within the ZCC lies in the early history of conflicts within the church. After Engenas Lekganyane’s death in 1948, Joseph, his son and appointed heir, succeeded him as the leader of the church. However, Joseph’s older brother, Edward, contested this with the help of some church members. Traditional custom was in his favor as the older brother, for among the Bapedi the eldest son succeeds his father. It is said that, as a way of intimidating Joseph’s followers, the pro-Edward faction

burned the shacks in which Joseph’s supporters lived. When each shack was ablaze, the Edward faction danced and sang a song containing the words “*u yasha unkhukhu*” (a shack is burning). This song, which was isiZulu, was begun by pro-Edward migrant workers based in what was then known as the Reef. The dancing pattern they formed eventually became popular within the branch that the Edward camp established after the conflict and came to be known as Mokhukhu. The name now refers to both the *dance pattern* and to the *group* that performs the dance.

Edward’s faction called its branch the Zion Christian Church. By retaining the original name of the church that Engenas had founded, they were possibly suggesting that Edward was the legitimate successor to his father. Joseph’s camp coined the name St. Engenas Zion Christian Church for their group: By putting “St. Engenas” before “Zion Christian Church,” they were also insisting on their lawful link to the founder of the ZCC. Mokhukhu is found only in Edward’s ZCC, perhaps because it conjures up unhappy memories for the leadership in Joseph’s group. Because it played a decisive role in the establishment of Edward’s ZCC, Mokhukhu is accorded a central place in the church. Some members of the church refer to it as *motheo wa Kereke* (the foundation of the church).

### STAMPING EVIL UNDERFOOT

According to members of Edward’s ZCC, Mokhukhu plays a role very similar to that of *kgoro ya banna* found among the Bapedi tribes. *Kgoro* refers to a meeting place for men and also to the meeting held there by tribesmen to discuss matters that affect the tribe. Within the church, this *kgoro* focuses mostly on communion, dancing, singing, and praying.

Mokhukhu is now a strictly male organization, but when it began women were part of it. They were eventually separated into their own structure, because the ZCC keeps to traditional values, and the rigors of Mokhukhu dancing subjected the women to what the church regarded as undignified behavior for them. For example, when they dance Mokhukhu, members frequently leap into the air and then come down stamping their feet on the ground with their huge white boots, called *manyanyatha*, in order symbolically to subjugate evil. The heavy stamps have a musical function as well in that they give each dance a particular rhythmic pattern. The leaps are also symbolic of each member’s desire to fly on the wings of faith — wings

<sup>1</sup> Zionist churches of South Africa have nothing to do with Judaism or the movement for the development of the Jewish state. This brand of Zionism takes its name from Zion City, Illinois — the birthplace of the movement.

<sup>2</sup> All non-English words in the text derive from Sepedi, one of the Bantu languages spoken in South Africa. The Sepedi-speaking Bapedi are the largest ethnic group in the Northern Province.

<sup>3</sup> Zion City Moria is also the meeting place for the Church’s Easter gathering. More than a million pilgrims meet there every year during the Easter weekend. South African political leaders such as P.W. Botha, F.W. de Klerk, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and Nelson Mandela have attended the Easter meeting as guests of honor.





At a gathering of the Zion Christian Church in South Africa's northern province of Maria, the men of Makhukhu dance as an expression of faith. More than one million pilgrims meet in Zion City Moria every year for the church's Easter gathering.

Photo © T. J. Lemon

which help the faithful to remain buoyant even in adversity. Thus the leaps are a self-energizing act for the believer; they are a way of replenishing spiritual resources and of expressing spiritual vitality physically. Mokhukhu gives male members of the Church a strong sense of identity and a forum for social interaction. Their khaki uniforms and white boots provide a visible sign of oneness for members and emphasize their role as *mash ole a thapelo* (an army of prayer).

Mokhukhu members are expected to protect the interests of the church when these are at stake, just as they did when Edward was involved in a struggle to succeed his father. Perhaps their army-like uniforms are also meant to suggest their role as defenders of the faith.

The dominant role of Mokhukhu as a men's organization not only derives from the church's history and values, but is also believed to have a Biblical justification: 1 Corinthians 11:7-9 is often quoted to support this:

[Man] reflects the image and glory of God. But woman reflects the glory of man; for man was not created from woman, but woman from man. Nor was man created for woman's sake, but woman was created for man's sake.

It is obvious that the feminist movement has not had an impact on the way the church establishment thinks.

An important factor contributing to the cohesiveness of

Mokhukhu and unity within the ZCC is its insistence on discipline. Every new, able-bodied member of the church is expected to join Mokhukhu for purposes of initiation into church rituals and customs. (In the words of one member, the organization helps to "tame young men by subjecting them to its discipline.") The disciplined behavior of Mokhukhu members is legendary, and one can easily see it when they perform. Another factor is the church's belief that in worship one has to be passionately involved; the soul, mind, and heart — in fact the entire body — must be focused on God. This allows for intense religious expression, which gives the church a unity of purpose.

## HUNGER FOR GOD

The impetus behind the energetic performances of Mokhukhu derives from a hunger for God and the holy spirit. Without a desire for union with God, one's performance becomes insipid. As an old member put it, "When we perform, hunger for food is replaced by hunger for the Holy Spirit. Once we are filled up with the Holy Spirit, we can perform all night."

According to the code of behavior that Mokhukhu members abide by, sexual intercourse must be avoided prior to a performance, for it is believed that this takes away the energy that must be devoted to the worship of God, and, in



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addition, defiles the body, thus undermining the purity of one's performance. Sexual abstinence is known as *go ikilela*.

To be a member of Mokhukhu requires total dedication. Performances last for hours, with no meals in between, and yet energy levels never drop. If asked what keeps them going, Mokhukhu members' reply is "faith" and the "Holy Spirit." For example, Mokhukhu performs every Wednesday from 6 to 9 p.m., and a weekend performance starts on Saturday at 11 p.m. and lasts until 7 a.m. the next morning. Between 7 and 11 a.m. on the Sunday, members can wash and have breakfast. At 11 a.m. the performance recommences and will last until 2 p.m., when the Sunday church service begins. An outsider may find this expenditure of time and energy excessive and wasteful, but for members it is an expression of faith. Religion is central to the lives of Mokhukhu members and other formations within the Church. As a member of Mokhukhu said, "We drink tea or *mogabolo* (blessed water) before a performance; then we perform without becoming exhausted. Faith prevents us from getting fatigued."

It is also believed that the more vigorous the dance, the less tiring it becomes; a robust performance encourages intense perspiration, which releases debilitating "impurities" from the body.

Mokhukhu members perform not only in church gatherings but also at wedding ceremonies and other social functions, if invited. Thus non-church members are afforded the chance to see faith in action and to see how the faithful behave "*ge ba hlomoga pelo gore ba be le Modimo*"

(when their hearts grieve for oneness with God). The grief, however, is a joyful one; it is inspired by intimations of a divine presence. What energizes Mokhukhu has been succinctly expressed in the lyrics of a song sung by the ZCC Male Choir:

*Ke lella moya,*

I yearn to save the soul,

*Ga ke llele marapo.*

I don't yearn to save the bones.

*Ga ke llele nama,*

I don't yearn to save the flesh,

*Ke llela moya wa me.*

I yearn to save my soul.

*Ga ke llele taemane,*

I don't desire diamonds,

*Ga ke llele gauta,*

I don't desire gold,

*Ke llela moya.*

I yearn to save the soul.

*Ga ke llele tsa lefatshe,*

I don't desire worldly things,

*Ke llela moya wa me.*

I yearn to save my soul.

The desire to save the soul, and thereby to enter God's spiritual realm, explains Mokhukhu's dynamism.

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# *Songs of the Night: Isicathamiya Choral Music from KwaZulu Natal*

*Angela Impey*

*The connection  
between  
tradition,  
Christian  
sentiment, and  
expressions of  
protest has  
always been  
strongly  
interwoven in  
the genre.*

**P**icture a dark, dilapidated hall in downtown Johannesburg. In it are only a few rows of broken plastic chairs and one or two bare electric light bulbs hanging from warped ceiling-boards in the center of the room. At one end of the hall is a low, wooden stage, in front of which are positioned a wooden table and single chair.

It is a Saturday night, approaching midnight. People are slowly drifting off the dimly lit streets into the hall. The majority of them are Zulu migrant workers who live in the city for periods of up to eleven months of the year, working in factories, gold mines, or in the dark shadows of the inner city as night watchmen.

Once in the hall, they begin to congregate in tight groups, leaning inward toward one another and singing softly, haltingly, in close harmonies, a cappella. They are preparing for a competition they call *isicathamiya*, which literally translated means “in a stalking approach” or “tiptoe guys,” descriptive of the soft-footed dance styles, actions, and songs they perform. The choirs are made up of “home boys” — men who come from the same villages or regions of rural KwaZulu Natal, an area to the northeast of South Africa. These weekly *isicathamiya* competitions which take place in the cities serve to assert home ties and to affirm regional identities.

This is the stage of the evening they call *iprakthisa* (practice time). It is the time to perfect voice parts, to make final corrections of lyrics, to remind themselves and each other of the finer details of their carefully choreographed dance steps. Later they will compete in front of a judge, and the choir who exhibits the most synchronized actions and the most creative song arrangements will be awarded a small sum of money. Sometimes they may win a goat or a cow, but it is the pride and prestige gained from being awarded first place that is the incentive which attracts the participants to the competitions.

Each choir is immaculately dressed in combinations of three-piece suits and matching bow ties, two-tone shoes, white gloves, pocket handkerchiefs, and shining costume jewelry. Across their bodies the leaders of each choir wear white sashes loudly embroidered with the name of their group: The King Star Brothers, The Hundred Percent Brothers, The Khalabhayi Boys.

While the choirs prepare themselves for the competition, delegates from each group comb the streets in search of a judge. The judge must be a White man; he must be unknown and therefore unbiased. He is often a hobo found





*Just before they take the stage, members of an isicathamiya choir in Johannesburg, South Africa, prepare for a song competition by congregating in a circle to pray for spiritual guidance during their performance. Photo © T.J. Lemon*

sleeping under a bridge, or an inner-city kid found slouched outside a rough city discotheque. He will be approached with great humility and skillfully lured into the hall with offers of beer, cigarettes, and a night of sweet music. He will be seated at the table facing the stage and told to select the three best choirs of that evening. For

the remainder of the night, and often into the following day, he will have to dedicate his attention respectfully and absolutely to the choirs. (In Durban, the South African Traditional Musicians' Association [SATMA], an organization which presides over the standards and practices of *isicathamiya* choirs in KwaZulu Natal, has replaced the convention of seeking a White adjudicator with one in which an educated Black person — a teacher, nurse, policeman, or member of a non-*isicathamiya* choir — is sought to make an informed judgement of weekly competitions.)

The singers will begin their performance from the back

of the hall and will parade past the judge, subtly drawing his attention to themselves as they pass him by pointing out their matching cufflinks and socks, or the beaded badges of the new South African flag they may have pinned to their lapels. They will salute, smile, and stare imploringly at him, all the while maintaining, with absolute rhythmic precision, the delicate steps, shimmering hand movements, and respective vocal parts of their song.

### STYLISTIC HISTORY OF ISICATHAMIYA

The origins of *isicathamiya* are rooted in American minstrelsy and ragtime. U.S. vaudeville troupes such as Orpheus McAdoo and his Virginia Jubilee Singers toured South Africa extensively from 1890, inspiring the formation of numerous Black South African groups whose imitation of crude black-face troupes, song repertoire, and musical instruments signaled notions of cultural progress and self-improvement.

Even earlier, the educated, landed Black elite, or



*amakhohwa* (believers), whose Christian missionary education instilled in them the desire to imitate all things British, performed choral singing (*imusic*) — one of the main symbols of identification with Victorian values. Sankey and Moody urban revival hymns learned from the hymnal of the American Board Missions were central to the repertoire.

The Native Lands Act (1913) prohibited Black property ownership and forced thousands of indigenous peoples from their ancestral land. This devastating piece of legislation led to increasing political repression of all Black South Africans, regardless of educational, religious, and class status. In response, religious hymns were replaced with minstrelsy and other forms of African-American music and dance, as these performance models were considered better suited to emerging discourses of Black social and political dissent. The combination of four-part hymnody (*imusic*) and minstrelsy (and, later, “traditional” Zulu music) thus became the basis of much subsequent Black popular music in South Africa.

One individual who made a significant contribution toward exploring expressive forms able to satisfy an emerging nationalist, Black identity was Reuben Caluza. A choral composer who emerged from a Presbyterian mission background in KwaZulu Natal, his musical education spanned the whole spectrum of Black performance (Erlmann 1991:118). Although not an overtly political man, Caluza lived with strong commitment to Christian values and was sensitive to social injustice. His convictions became the main inspirational source for his songs. His first composition, “*Silusapho Lwase Africa*” (We Are the Children of Africa), was adopted in 1913 as the first theme of the South African Native National Congress, the precursor of today’s African National Congress. Caluza’s use of four-part harmonies and melodies taken from European and American hymn tunes, coupled with Zulu lyrics, did not simply imitate White choral music but “expressed the new relationships and values of urban groups, who expected fuller participation in the social and political life of the community into which they had been drawn economically” (Blacking 1980:198 in Erlmann 1991:121).

Caluza directed the Ohlange Institute Choir, which he toured extensively and which people of all classes and identities came to hear. His concerts, considered one of the earliest forms of variety shows for Black performers, combined *imusic*, brass bands, film shows, ballroom dancing, traditional drum-and-reed ensembles, and back-to-back

dances (Erlmann 1991:122). Significantly, Caluza introduced ragtime into his repertoire. Although black-face minstrelsy groups had existed for a number of years and had come to be known as coons (*isikhunsi*), Caluza’s ragtime renditions, which combined slick dance action with Zulu topical lyrics, more vigorously represented nationalist sentiments through their positive images of the ideal Black urbanite (Erlmann 1991:159).

### RURAL-URBAN COMMUNITIES

By the 1920s, minstrel shows had gained widespread popularity throughout South Africa, extending deep into remote parts of the countryside, where traditional performance practices remained relatively unaltered. These shows particularly impressed Zulu migrant workers from the KwaZulu Natal regions, who combined stylistic elements of minstrelsy performance with *ingoma* (dance characterized by forward-stretching hands and high-kicking footwork) and *izingoma zomtshado* (Zulu wedding songs closely related in structure to *ingoma* songs) to form the prototype of present-day *isicathamiya* song and dance.

The vast number of Zulu men who entered the migrant labor system were made to occupy the marginal spaces of the cities: squalid, single-sex hostels, compounds, and impoverished locations. City dwelling demanded creative responses to the dislocation from home and family and to the new experiences of everyday life. With urban development in South Africa, Blacks formed trade unions, sports organizations, and entertainment clubs. Zulu *isicathamiya* groups developed a complex network of weekly competitions; they were prescribed and stately occasions, organized around set pieces, as had been the convention of school and mission competitions. Choral groups comprised men who shared regional and kinship ties. While *isicathamiya* competitions may have originated in Durban and KwaZulu Natal, they soon emerged among Zulu

*Isicathamiya has survived for almost a century, providing a cultural space for Zulu migrant workers whose reality in the cities has been one of dehumanization and dislocation from home, family, and community.*



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migrants in Johannesburg, where performances took on subtle stylistic differences.

The organization of choirs and the repertoire of actions, dance, and songs which characterized *isicathamiya* performance did not merely represent creative adaption and straddling of rural and urban, traditional and Western worlds. Rather, choirs and the web of competitions which held them in place became an important survival strategy for migrants in an increasingly fragmented and alienated existence.

"We're here and suffering," sing the Nthuthuko Brothers, "just as we come from difficulties in Zululand." "Sizulazula", we're going up and down, between town and homeland.... We're going here and there, riding the train, see you later my sweetheart (Meintjes 1993:4).

### THE SACRED DIMENSIONS OF ISICATHAMIYA

*Isicathamiya* song repertoire spans a wide range of styles and orientations, ranging from Zulu wedding songs to renditions of Beach Boys hits. However, basic to the per-

formance genre is an underlying Christian commitment — expressed not only in frequent references to biblical texts and Christian hymn texture but also in the ritual action which patterns the competition. Choir members will customarily congregate in tight circles prior to a competition and pray for spiritual direction during their upcoming performance. (The gathering of men into tight circles with the leader in their midst also recalls *isihaya*, the cattle enclosure in a traditional village. Being the most sacred space in the homestead, it is considered a powerful, male domain where men likewise request guidance and spiritual strength from ancestors prior to going to war [Erlmann 1996:190].)

Some choirs specialize in religious repertoire, retaining strong stylistic and lyrical inspiration from African-American spirituals, Methodist hymns, and Sankey and Moody revival hymns. Most choirs, however, include in their songs elements of prayer, such as the cadenza with which many will conclude their song (Erlmann 1996:220):

Chorus: *Ile! Khuluma Nkosi kimi.*

He! Speak to me, Lord.

The connection between tradition, Christian sentiment, and expressions of protest has always been strongly interwoven in the genre, such that Old Methodist tropes will frequently appear alongside descriptions of political turmoil and praises to a chief.

*Isicathamiya* has survived for almost a century, providing a cultural space for Zulu migrant workers whose reality in the cities has been one of dehumanization and dislocation from home, family, and community. Through performance they have been able to dramatize and temporarily discard loneliness, nostalgia, and hardship.

Like countless similar semi-urban South African performances genres which developed during the harsh years of Apartheid rule, *isicathamiya* has been a medium through which a particular cultural group has been able to think aloud about itself and the changing environment around it. That the participants of *isicathamiya* have sought dignity through the very symbols associated with their oppressors — those forces which have denied them dignity and selfhood — demonstrates how symbols can be claimed through performance and reinvented to serve the needs of another in powerful ways.

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# Old Regular Baptists of Southeastern Kentucky: A Community of Sacred Song

Jeff Todd Titon

*Worship, not  
history or the  
way songs are  
put together, is  
the most  
important  
aspect of the  
music.*

## THE COMMUNITY

The singing of the Old Regular Baptists from the Kentucky coal-mining country in the heart of the southern Appalachian Mountains is one of the oldest and deepest veins of the English/Scots/Irish-based American melodic traditions. This hymnody, with its elaborate, lined-out, unaccompanied singing, is not well known outside its region, cannot be heard on television or radio, and little of it has been available on recordings. Yet it is a regional and national treasure that deserves to be encouraged within its community and made available to the world outside. Elwood Cornett, Moderator (elected leader) of the Indian Bottom Association of Old Regular Baptists, wrote: "We Old Regular Baptists are a peculiar people. We sing differently. Some say our worship has a sad and mournful sound. But I've never heard a more beautiful melody, and the sound of the worship causes my heart to feel complete."

Old Regular Baptists form a close-knit community. They are concentrated within their central Appalachian region in the upper South, and in certain Kentucky counties — Letcher, Knott, Perry — there are more Old Regular Baptists than members of any other Protestant denomination. In addition to a geographical community, they also form a moral community of shared beliefs. Elwood Cornett describes his people:

The Old Regular Baptist members come from many walks of life. Some are highly educated — some are not. Some are well off financially — some are not. Some are old — some are young. We come together as equal children of God. We do not say we are better than someone else. We are totally unconcerned about the opinions of modern theologians. Each person has an individual relationship with God, and that spiritual relationship overshadows everything else.

We hold family and place in high regard. Children are taught by the light of the life of Christians much more than either written or oral words. Sincerity and humbleness and reverence are marks of God's people. The Old Regular Baptists may travel far and wide, but they are anxious to return to the place where they grew up. They want to hear those special sounds and see familiar scenes. Those that move away return



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*Members of an Old Regular Baptist church from the Kentucky coal-mining country in the heart of the southern Appalachian Mountains look on as a "true believer" is baptized. Old Regular Baptists carry on a tradition of singing that dates from the 16th century.*

Photo courtesy Elwood Cornett

often and are likely to return for retirement. It is my desire to not sound self-righteous, but I humbly proclaim that I have found home. It has been decades since I searched for a people to fellowship with. I have found just what I was looking for. These are my people. This is my home!

According to John Wallhausser, a professor of religion at Berea College, Kentucky, the beliefs and traditions of the older Baptist denominations in the southern Appalachian Mountains are found in layers, like seams of coal. The earliest layers are composed of 16th- and early 17th-century Reformation beliefs and creeds — particularly, for English Baptists who followed the theology of John Calvin, the First (1644) and Second (1689) London Confessions. The next layer consists of 18th-century pietism and the revival movements in New

England and the American frontier. Finally, one finds the theological controversies of the 19th century which led Old Regular Baptist churches to consolidate and preserve their traditions, their "old-fashioned way." Twentieth-century efforts by Appalachian churches to hold on to their past have kept much of that past intact. Consequently, we can still discern today the remarkable heritage of the mountains: their distinctive way of being "in the world but not of the world."

### THE SINGING

All music embodies ideas — social, aesthetic, stylistic — and sacred music is a particularly powerful system of sound and belief. Old Regular Baptists think of their music chiefly in terms of worship. When sung in the Spirit of God, these songs bring people closer to God and to each other. This experience is most truly felt by a Christian saved by grace, and yet many speak of how the sound of the singing drew them powerfully even when they were



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children and did not understand its full meaning. Worship, not history or the way the songs are put together, is the most important aspect of the music.

Old Regular Baptist singing has a lot in common with other Protestant hymnody. The whole congregation is invited to sing. Their aim is to praise the Lord. The songs are sung in church, at memorial meetings, baptisms, and in homes. They are sung by men, women, and children alike. But Old Regular Baptist singing also has its own particulars. The singing is very slow. It gets along without a regular beat; you can't tap your foot to it. The melodies are very elaborate, and they come from the old Anglo-American folk music tune stock, not from classical music or from popular songs written to make money. The group sings in unison, not in parts (harmony), but each singer is free to "curve" the tune a little differently, and those who are able to make it more elaborate are admired. People unfamiliar with this way of singing are mistaken if they think the singers intend unified precision but fall short; on the contrary, the singing is in step and deliberately just a bit out of phase — and this is one of its most powerful musical aspects.

Like almost all Christian hymns, Old Regular Baptist congregational songs consist of rhymed, metrical verse in a series of stanzas to which a repeating tune is set. Song books are kept at the pulpit and passed around to the song leaders. These books have words but no musical notation. The oldest lyrics are the 18th-century hymns, written chiefly by familiar English or American devotional poets and hymn writers such as Isaac Watts. These fill their two favorite song books, the collections *Sweet Songster* and the *Thomas Hymnal*. The leader sings the very first line, and the congregation joins in when they recognize the song. After that, the song proceeds line by line: the leader briefly chants a line alone, and then the group repeats the words but to a tune that is much longer and more elaborate than the leader's chant or lining tune. Music historians call this procedure lining out.

Tunes are passed along from one singer, one generation to the next among the members of these close families and church communities. Singers learn by following and imitating others, not by reading notes. Some of their melodies, such as the one used for both "Guide me o thou great Jehovah" and "Every moment brings me nearer," are quite old, while others are more recent compositions in the same folksong style. Other tunes, such as those for "Salvation is the name I love" and "The day is past and gone,"

are clearly related to tunes that were printed in 19th-century hymnals. Old Regular Baptist song rhythm is governed, not by metronome time, but by breath time. "We believe in being tuned up with the grace of God and His Holy Spirit; and when that begins, it makes a melody, makes a joyful noise," Elder I. D. Back said.

The Old Regular Baptist way of singing derives from the music of the 16th-century English parish church. In 1644 the Westminster Assembly of Divines, a group appointed by the English Parliament, recommended the practice of lining out, and it was adopted in Massachusetts a few years later. By the end of the 17th century it had become "the common way of singing" among Anglicans and other Protestant denominations (Lutherans excepted) throughout Britain and her colonies. African Americans learned it and carry a parallel tradition today, particularly Baptists in the rural South.

As settlers moved during the 18th and early 19th centuries into the frontier South, to the Shenandoah Valley and later across the Cumberland Gap, they carried "the common way" (now called "the old way") of singing with them. Most Appalachian settlers from the English/Scottish borderlands were familiar with this music, for it had lingered there well into the 18th century even after it had declined in southern England and the urban parts of the American colonies. The Old Baptists used well-known secular tunes and composed other, similar-sounding tunes to carry the sacred texts. Nineteenth-century camp meetings gave rise to spiritual songs — usually easily sung, rapid choruses with refrains; but the more conservative Old Baptist ancestors of the Old Regulars resisted the new gospel music. They also resisted musical notation in shaped notes, a reform designed to drive out "the old way of singing." Shaped notes (diamonds, triangles, squares,

*Old Regular  
Baptists think  
of their music  
chiefly in terms  
of worship.  
When sung in  
the Spirit of God,  
these songs  
bring people  
closer to God  
and to each  
other.*



## Sacred Sounds

and circles that aided in learning to sing by sight) spread via singing schools from New England to Appalachia and the South in the 19th century and were featured in such prominent Southern hymn collections as the *Southern Harmony* and the *Sacred Harp* and in various gospel hymn collections from the late 19th century onwards. The greatest challenge to “the old way of singing” today comes

from the gospel songs on radio and recordings. Some Old Regular Baptist churches have succumbed to part-singing, and many include a far higher percentage of gospel hymnody, but in the Indian Bottom Association most remain steadfast in keeping the older, lined-out hymnody.

The melodic elaborations

of “the old way” predominate in the styles of several contemporary country and bluegrass singers — George Jones, Ralph Stanley, Merle Haggard, Randy Travis, Garth Brooks, Emmylou Harris, and Dolly Parton, to name some of the more prominent — whose melodic turns and graces link country music with its cultural past and make it attractive to knowing listeners. Old Regular Baptist music is what it is today because the people continue to believe strongly “In the Good, Old-Fashioned Way,” as the title of one of their songs has it. They have been able to preserve the old singing to a remarkable degree. This powerfully affecting, richly complex singing and the people who have kept it deserve to be honored and celebrated.

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**Jeff Todd Titon** directs the doctoral program in music at Brown University. A folklorist and an ethnomusicologist, he has collaborated with Old Regular Baptists to co-produce an album of their music that is available on Smithsonian Folkways Recordings.

### Suggested Listening & Viewing

*Songs of the Old Regular Baptists: Lined-out Hymnody from Southeastern Kentucky.* Smithsonian Folkways SFW 40106. CD and cassette format. Co-produced by Elwood Cornett, John Wallhausser, and Jeff Todd Titon. Sung by members of the Indian Bottom Association, Old Regular Baptists. Recorded 1992 and 1993.

*While the Ages Roll On.* VHS, color, 1-hour documentary about an Old Regular Baptist family and their annual memorial service. Directed by Kevin Balling. Filmed in 1989 in Pike Co., KY. Available from the Appalachian Center, Appalachian State University, Boone, NC.

### Suggested Reading

Dorgan, Howard. 1989. *The Old Regular Baptists of Central Appalachia.* Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press.

Melton, J. Gordon. 1978. The Baptist Family. In *The Encyclopedia Of American Religions.* Wilmington, North Carolina: McGrath Publishing Company.



# Third Annual Friends of the Festival Ralph Rinzler Memorial Concert:

## Celebrating the Revival of Old-Time Southern Music & Dance



*In 1958, Ralph Rinzler joined the Greenbriar Boys as mandolin player and singer. He brought new songs and original arrangements from traditional folk music to their bluegrass repertoire. Left to right: Ralph, Robert (Bab) Yellin, and Jahn Herald. Photo courtesy CFPCS Archive*

**R**alph Rinzler (1934-1994), founding director of the Festival of American Folklife, worked over the years with a host of gifted musicians and folklorists, doing fieldwork, issuing recordings, and presenting concerts. These people collectively advocated and participated in numerous revivals. The Ralph Rinzler Memorial Concert Series pays tribute to Ralph and his work by honoring long-time colleagues and like-minded advocates, and the traditions which they have touched. This year we highlight the revival of Southern old-time and string band music.

Ralph's enthusiasm as a two-year-old for a wind-up phonograph developed into an obsession with music. By age seven, he was listening to the Library of Congress field recordings which stimulated his life's work. As a freshman at Swarthmore, inspired by Pete Seeger, Ralph took up the banjo. For repertoire he turned to Harry Smith's treasury of early commercial recordings, Folkways' 1952 *Anthology of American Folk Music* (scheduled for reissue by Smithsonian Folkways this year), where he found the likes of Buell Kazee, Clarence Ashley, the Carter Family, Uncle Dave Macon, and the old-time string bands.

Ralph, however, was not antiquarian. He and Mike Seeger, as companions and mutual mentors, set out to explore the Country Music Parks of Maryland. To Ralph, contemporary musicians whom he heard were every bit as

exciting as those recorded earlier. As Mike and the New Lost City Ramblers commenced playing old-time string band music, Ralph joined the Greenbriar Boys to play old-time music bluegrass style. He catalogued Harry Smith's 1,500 titles for the New York City Public Library, and then, at the Union Grove Fiddlers Convention, by a stroke of luck, Ralph met Clarence (Tom) Ashley. Encouraged, Ralph set out to find more musicians from the earlier era, to record, manage, and — joining forces with John Cohen and Israel Young in the Friends of Old-Time Music — to present them in concerts and at festivals. Ashley, Doc Watson, and Bill Monroe were among those whose careers were changed by Ralph's advocacy.

Soon, fieldwork for the Newport Folk Festival set Ralph roaming the country to find little-known musicians and musical genres in their community settings. It was his aim to celebrate the cultural diversity and genius of a nation — in music, art, and craft — and thereby to inspire new generations, both in their home communities and, in the case of music, in their contributions to the growing American Folk Music Revival. Central to his personal aesthetic was an appreciation of the virtuosos and stylists of the strings: old-time players of banjo, fiddle, mandolin, and guitar.

In 1967, the Smithsonian hired Ralph to help conceptualize and direct the first Festival of American Folklife. The ensuing Festivals presented extraordinary

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*This concert has been made possible with support from the Friends of the Festival, Bob Dylan, The Ruth Mott Fund, Homespun Tapes, County Records, the Woody Guthrie Foundation, Sugar Hill Records, Kate Rinzler, and Smithsonian Folkways Recordings.*



## Third Annual Friends of the Festival Ralph Rinzler Memorial Concert

old-time banjo, guitar, and fiddle soloists, balladeers, and vintage string bands. An exemplary sampling from early Festivals includes bands such as Wade Ward and the Buck Mountain Band, Ralph Stanley and the Clinch Mountain Boys, and Kyle Creed, Roscoe Russell, and Otis Burris from Virginia; the McGee Brothers and Sid Harkreader from Tennessee; a “fiddlers convention” emceed by Guthrie Meade; Doc and Merle Watson with Clint Howard and Fred Price, and the Wiley and Zeke Morris Band from North Carolina; and Bill Monroe and the Blue Grass Boys from Kentucky, as well as Bill playing with

his brothers Birch and Charlie. Mike Seeger and John Cohen acted as masters of ceremonies, and, in 1970, the New Lost City Ramblers with Mike, John, and Tracy Schwarz performed. Along with the string bands came cloggers, square dance callers, and dance parties.

Among the string bands at the 1969 Festival were the brothers J.E. and Wade Mainer from North Carolina, playing with Steve Ledford. This year we offer special recognition to Wade Mainer and his wife Julia on the occasion of Wade’s ninetieth birthday.

—Kate Rinzler

**T**his year’s concert traces the development of the revival, the new life, of Southern traditional music over the past forty years and of the community of musicians and dancers that has developed with it.

Until early in this century, old-time Southern music was the music of everyday, mostly rural, working people, made by and for a local community. Such homemade music consisted of a great variety of songs, ranging from ancient English ballads to newer compositions springing from the American experience. Instrumental music was played on fiddle, banjo, dulcimer, jew’s harp, and later on guitar and other mainly string instruments by both Blacks and Whites, men and women. It was constantly evolving, though at a slow, person-to-person pace. Paid performance was rare.

By the 1930s, media marketism was finishing off the job of mortally wounding home-based Southern traditional music, a process started by industrialization, urbanization, and the consequent move to a dollar economy. The older repertoire and styles were quickly disappearing, and Southern self-entertainment was subsiding or becoming influenced by distant commercial interests. Early attempts at cultural preservation — mostly by urban middle-class musicians and scholars — included “folk song” performances in popular or concert music styles; books of folk songs by Carl



*The Carolina Tar Heels (left to right, Clarence [Tom] Ashley, Doc Walsh, Gwen Foster), ca. 1930. Ashley can be heard on The Original Folkways Recordings, 1960–1962, a reissue of Folkways records from 1961 and 1963 (Old Time Music at Clarence Ashley’s), produced and*

*annotated by Ralph Rinzler, and also on the Anthology of American Folk Music, to be reissued as a 6-CD boxed set by Smithsonian Folkways this year.*

Photo courtesy CFPCS Archive

Sandburg and John and Alan Lomax; festivals such as Bascom Lamar Lunsford’s Mountain Dance and Folk Festival in Asheville, North Carolina; and a variety of programs during the Roosevelt administration.

In a sense the revival started with the Almanac Singers in New York in 1941. Their inspiring political songs and performance energy helped make them and their music attractive within urban left-wing circles. In the context of this year’s concert they were significant because they often sang songs and played music in informal, tradition-based styles, sometimes with members such as Woody Guthrie and Lead Belly, themselves

recently urbanized from Southern traditional communities.

Following are essays by three musicians active during successive periods of this renewal or revival process: Bess Hawes, a member of the Almanac Singers in the early 1940s; Mike Seeger, a member of the New Lost City Ramblers, who were most active in the sixties; and Brad Leftwich, who participated in the more recent fiddle and string music revival starting in the seventies. All three of us, speaking for ourselves and of our different times, find qualities of great value in this body of music in today’s world.

—Mike Seeger



# When We Were Joyful

*Bess Lomax Hawes*

I am one of those who grew up during the Great Depression, and even in my teens I began to perceive that the moving force then was the interaction of the economic and the political. Indeed, most of my generation seemed to feel that this combination was the only really interesting thing to think about, along with peace.

Most of this I knew just by sniffing the air, but when I was fifteen my folklorist father, John A. Lomax, drove me through Appalachia from Texas to Washington, D.C., and for the first time I really saw poverty and heard it in the thin, hungering voices of the women who sang for Father when he stopped to visit.

You got to walk that lonesome valley,

You got to walk it by yourself....

Later in Washington I confronted the proceedings of the LaFollette Senate Committee's investigation of poverty in the United States, and truly I never looked back, even though other issues such as ethnicity and labor rights came along. To me they all seemed to flow from the primary problem of economic inequity.

By 1941 my generation had also observed the procedures of the WPA, which demonstrated to us that shoemakers should be able to earn money by making shoes (not by taking low-skilled jobs or going on relief); similarly, that carpenters should be paid for doing carpentry and musicians for making music. It followed then that singers should earn their living making and singing songs.

And so the Almanac Singers, originally four young people including Pete Seeger and Lee Hayes — and, during the middle period of their activity, me — with varying mixes of musical and poetic talents came together to try to reach and excite new audiences and break through the music industry's obsession with romantic love. They sang songs that were about something — the pioneer values of courage and endurance, the pursuit of equal justice, the needs of the poor, the importance of unions, the dangers of war. They struck an emotional range — brash, comic, angry, ironic, tragic — above all, interesting.

And they did this in large part because they simply followed age-old models. They studied the greatest traditional songs, the greatest traditional singers. They paid passionate attention to

the two largest, deepest, and most creative streams of song to influence our nation and later the world — the blues and spirituals of African Americans and old-timey music and balladry from Great Britain.

They rewrote some of these songs to convey a newer message; they slowed some tunes down and speeded others up for differing effects. But because of their learning habits — hours and hours daily in front of the record player absorbing into their bones the intonations and nuances of great folk musicians, as well as continually presenting and studying such locally available traditional singers as Woody Guthrie, Cisco Houston, Josh White, and Lead Belly — Almanac performances had a surety, a brio, a subtlety that later groups had to struggle for.

The Almanacs also invited portable stringed instruments into the recording studio and the concert hall. This had of course been done before but generally for blues and country and western records, and discs of each of these genres were designed to accommodate listeners of a different color. But larger audiences turned out to be amazed at the excitement, vigor, and intriguing rhythms they had been missing.

Gosh, we had fun. Every day: Woody at dawn, sleeping over the typewriter, the floor littered with his commentary, diary, and songs; Lee, clearing his massive throat and tuning up his massive bass; Pete, banjo always on the alert and always with a new idea or a great tune we hadn't really listened to before.

My own life has been essentially joyful. In the "Peanuts" comic strip, Linus once recommended that every baby be issued a banjo at birth. I'll go along with that but also suggest that a banjo, together with a good cause to play it for, is twice as interesting. Everyone needs one or more good causes, for how can you not be joyful with solid problems to work on? I am forever grateful that I came along in time to catch into the indignant, positive, life-affirming atmospheres of the thirties and forties that carried me right on into the nineties. I wish my successors the same fate.

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*Bess Hawes, one of the singers connected with the Almanacs, later led an active life with the Smithsonian's Festival of American Folklife and at the National Endowment for the Arts, where she was Director of the Folk Arts Program. She received a National Medal of Arts from President Clinton in 1993.*

**AUTHOR'S NOTE:** The title of this article parallels that of Robert Cantwell's recent volume, *When We Were Good: The Folk Revival*.



# Crusaders for Old-Time Music

*Mike Seeger*

**A**lthough my parents raised me in the suburbs less than ten miles from the National Mall in Washington, D.C., they reared me on Southern traditional music. I still remember the joy, as a child, of singing with them and listening to wondrous field recordings made by the pioneer collectors of the thirties, especially John and Alan Lomax, and, in my teens, learning to play the banjo — sometimes playing for twelve hours a day. I never questioned the value of the music and the close-by people who valued it: my parents, my brother Pete, the Lomaxes, and most of all the musicians and singers who made it, many of whom I later met and became friends with. I've come to have great respect for those long gone who created, used, and shaped this valuable heritage. So I emulate them all: I want to sing and play and collect with an eye toward seeing this music continue and adapt and stay fresh.

I was also reared with a perhaps unrealistic contempt for the domination of American musical life by media commercialism. The most unrealistic thing about my playing early American rural music may be that I've been doing it for a living for over thirty-five years. I remain noncommercial musically as well as in the marketplace.

When the New Lost City Ramblers (NLCR) started in 1958, John Cohen, Tom Paley, and I were all aware of the previous plateaus of the "revival," from the Almanacs to the Weavers and the then very recent (1958) success of the Kingston Trio. We were also aware of the situation of old-time Southern music in the South: those who played it were old, many others were musically inactive, and the young were playing bluegrass, various other forms of commercial country music, or rockabilly. Enjoyable as those other styles

were and still are to me, the older repertoire and variety of sounds are for me much richer in every way and inspire further exploration and individual expression.

Our initial intent was to just play the music we liked, the music we heard on Library of Congress field recordings and on commercial 78 rpm discs recorded in the late twenties and early thirties. Something about that body of music resonated in us, and we wanted to be true to those traditions. We wanted to avoid the urban political issues which seemed to overshadow the music, instead to let the fun, the irony, the stories — what we perceived as the best of the traditional songs and sounds — speak for themselves, and certainly to allow the rural working class, sometimes newly urbanized, to voice its own social and political concerns through their songs.

This was a new idea then, and we got people's attention. We tried to evolve a program that would present the music we loved with respect, to audiences totally unfamiliar with it or biased against it. We wanted to share our urban advantage with our mentors, so we actively promoted the idea of presenting traditional musicians everywhere we went. We developed a mission. Younger musicians were attracted to our music, our presentation, and advocacy. Some of them played informally, and others eventually became professional rock 'n' roll or bluegrass musicians. Our efforts were part of the "folk song revival" of the early sixties, but our music never fit into that world. Musical and political blacklists helped to assure our noncommerciality.

In the late sixties it seemed that our revival had been killed by rock 'n' roll, but it had merely become less visible. A true revival, a renewal, was to burst forth in the seventies with a younger generation of musicians, largely inspired by the Highwoods String Band. Their music was more casual and social than ours, more based on rhythmic fiddle tunes than a representative repertoire of Southern rural music. House parties and events such as the Brandywine Mountain Music Convention and Galax Fiddlers Convention became focal points for gatherings of musicians to party, visit, and make music. Furthermore, Southerners — encouraged by this new musical energy — began regaining some of their regional heritage, which was already being crowded out by radio and TV.

Now, in the late nineties, there are probably a few thousand people nationwide playing traditional Southern music, and it often occupies a place in their lives similar to the one the music used to hold when it was mostly rural. The music remains, as it nearly always has been, noncom-



mercial. We musicians are not subsistence farmers any more, though; we're computer programmers, carpenters, teachers, and health-care workers. In these affluent and unsettled times we have the luxury, the responsibility, of choice — of lifestyle, of music, of community, of livelihood. That is a big difference now.

This musical community has made its choices and will certainly be playing and evolving this music for a long time to come. We've helped the music make the jump into the modern world, where it will survive and thrive.

## Coming of Age

Brad Leftwich

Two circumstances drew me to old-time music and influenced the directions my interests have taken: in contrast to the stereotypical Northern urban revivalist, I grew up in Oklahoma; and there is in fact a tradition of Appalachian music in my family, who moved west from Virginia shortly after the turn of the century. Although I'm interested in my heritage, it's not very typical (whose is?), and I don't put much stock in it musically. I've always believed musicians should be judged by their mastery of the idiom, not by geography or lineage. Many of the modern masters of the old-time genre have been drawn to the music of the rural South across cultural, ethnic, even national boundaries.

Speaking as someone with a deep personal connection to this rare, beautiful music, I believe the revival's most important legacy is in bringing it to wider audiences. The old-time culture where it was shaped may be fading, but the music has attracted talented musicians who have ushered it into the present as a living tradition.

My generation came to this music in the late sixties and seventies through a variety of doors. Some of us, including me, were pursuing family or regional traditions; others found old-time music through the wider folk music scene.

*Mike Seeger, who makes his home in Rockbridge County, Virginia, has devoted his life to singing and playing Southern traditional mountain music on a variety of instruments and to producing documentaries and concert presentations of traditional musicians, singers, and dancers. His recordings are primarily on Rounder and Smithsonian Folkways.*



Some were bluegrass fans who became interested in the roots of their music; others were folklore students who learned about it in college; yet others were record collectors who discovered it on old discs. A few simply had out-of-the-blue conversion experiences upon hearing bands such as the New Lost City Ramblers or Highwoods in concert.

*The Freight Hoppers are one of the tightest and most driving old-time string bands of the younger generation and are reaching a wide audience these days. They record for Rounder. Photo by Fredrick Park*

The sixties and seventies were a time of idealism, and for many people traditional music and dance seemed a perfect fit with the values that inspired the "back to the land" movement. Regardless of politics, I believe most of us saw the traditional arts as embodying timeless, lasting values — an antidote to the commercial, disposable culture of the mainstream. Besides, playing music and dancing were a lot of fun. People soon discovered those activities were a great way to socialize, and scenes that began with only a few core



## Third Annual Friends of the Festival Ralph Rinzler Memorial Concert

people often snowballed into full-size communities.

A remarkable thing about old-time music in the early seventies was its ubiquity. The time just seemed to be ripe. Around the country, people were learning to play and dance; hosting house parties and jam sessions; establishing performing bands and clogging teams; and organizing community dances and festivals. Local scenes sprang up like mushrooms. In college I was amazed to meet others who shared my supposedly obscure interest. At Southern fiddlers conventions and in the homes of older musicians I visited, I ran into people from such far-flung communities as Lexington, Virginia; Ithaca, New York; Bloomington, Indiana; and Berkeley, California.

The scene has matured in the years since. The activity and energy of the seventies made available resources that have helped broaden and deepen our understanding of old-time music and dance. The decade brought to light many of the last old-timers, who had learned to play before the music was influenced by the radio and recording industries. Recordings of old-time music became plentiful and accessible. Many of the festivals and dances founded in that period are still going strong at their twenty-fifth anniversaries. Several performers of my generation have developed skills to rival the best old-timers and are masters in their own right. My peers are now well established in middle-age, and music and dance hold an integrated place in our lives. And as the years slip by, we discover that we are

becoming the older generation, looked up to by those who just now are getting involved.

Although we come from diverse backgrounds, the old-time music scene with its festivals and conventions, camps, dances, parties, personalities, performers, record labels, tape-swapping networks, and so forth has given us a great common ground for sharing our love of American traditional music.

---

*Brad Leftwich has been playing banjo and fiddle and singing for more than twenty-five years. He has performed solo and with the Plank Road Stringband, Leftwich & Higginbotham, and the Hundingers; won the fiddle contest at the Appalachian String Band Music Festival in Clifftop, West Virginia; and is noted for his ability to teach traditional music.*

### Suggested Reading

- Lornell, Kip. 1992. *Introducing American Folk Music*. Madison: Brown & Benchmark.  
*Old-time Herald*, the quarterly magazine for the old-time music community. 1812 House Ave., Durham, NC 27707.  
Wolfe, Charles K. 1977. *Tennessee Strings: The Story of Country Music in Tennessee*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press.

### Suggested Listening

- Anthology of American Folk Music* (6-CD boxed set). Smithsonian Folkways SFW 40089.  
Available in August 1997.  
*Old-time Music on the Air, Vol. 1*. Rounder 0331.

### Suggested Viewing

- Cohen, John. *That High Lonesome Sound*, a video compilation of three films on Roscoe Holcomb, Sara and Maybelle Carter, and Dillard Chandler and others. Shanachie Video.  
Seeger, Mike. *Talking Feet*, a video/book documentary of solo Southern dance (flatfoot, buck, hoedown, and tap). Flower Films 1150. Berkeley: North Atlantic Books.



# Festival of American Folklife 1997

June 25 — 29 & July 2 — 6

## GENERAL INFORMATION INCLUDING:

Services & Festival Hours

Participants

Daily Schedules

Contributors & Sponsors

Staff

Educational Offerings

Friends of the Festival

Smithsonian Folkways Recordings

A map of the Festival site is located on the back cover of this program book.







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# GENERAL FESTIVAL INFORMATION

## FESTIVAL HOURS

The Opening Ceremony for the Festival takes place in the main music tent of the *Sacred Sounds* program at 11:00 a.m., Wednesday, June 25th. Thereafter, Festival hours are 11:00 a.m. to 5:30 p.m. daily, with dance parties from 5:30 to 7:00 p.m. every evening and concerts from 7:00 to 9:00 p.m. every evening except July 4th.

## FESTIVAL SALES

Traditional African immigrant and Mississippi Delta food is sold. See the site map on the back cover for locations.

A variety of crafts, books, and Smithsonian Folkways recordings related to the 1997 Festival are sold in the Festival Sales Shop on the Mall-side lawn of the National Museum of American History.

## PRESS

Visiting members of the press should register at the Press Tent on the Mall near Madison Drive and 12th Street.

## FIRST AID

A first aid station is located near the Administration area on the Mall at Madison Drive and 12th Street.

## RESTROOMS & TELEPHONES

There are outdoor facilities for the public and visitors with disabilities located near all of the program areas on the Mall. Additional restroom facilities are available in each of the museum buildings during visiting hours.

Public telephones are available on the site, opposite the National Museums of American History and Natural History, and inside the museums.

## LOST & FOUND/

### LOST CHILDREN & PARENTS

Lost items may be turned in or retrieved at the Volunteer Tent near the Administration area at 12th Street near Madison Drive. Lost family members may be claimed at the Volunteer Tent also.

## METRO STATIONS

Metro trains will be running every day of the Festival. The Festival site is easily accessible from the Smithsonian and Federal Triangle stations on the Blue and Orange Lines.

## SERVICES FOR VISITORS WITH DISABILITIES

To make the Festival more accessible to visitors who are deaf or hard of hearing, audio loops are installed in the main music tent in each program area. Sign-language inter-

preters are on site every day of the Festival. Check the printed schedule and signs for interpreted programs. Special requests for interpreters should be made at the Volunteer Tent. Oral interpreters are available for individuals if a request is made three full days in advance. Call (202) 287-3417 (TTY) or (202) 287-3424 (voice).

Large-print copies of the daily schedule and audio-cassette and Braille versions of the program book are available at Festival information kiosks and the Volunteer Tent.

A limited number of wheelchairs are available at the Volunteer Tent. Volunteers are on call to assist wheelchair users and to guide visitors with visual impairments. There are a few designated parking spaces for visitors with disabilities along both Mall drives. These spaces have three-hour time restrictions.



# FESTIVAL PARTICIPANTS

## The Mississippi Delta

### HOME AREA

Gene Chinn,  
Chinese traditions;  
Clarksdale, MS  
Noah Chinn,  
Chinese traditions;  
Clarksdale, MS  
Bradley Chow,  
Chinese traditions;  
Clarksdale, MS  
Gilroy Chow,  
Chinese traditions;  
Clarksdale, MS  
Lisa Chow,  
Chinese traditions;  
Clarksdale, MS  
Sally Chow,  
Chinese traditions;  
Clarksdale, MS  
Dinni Clark,  
Southern cook;  
Columbus, MS  
Lawrence M. Craig,  
barbecue cook;  
DeValls Bluff, AR  
Lucinda Cusic, Southern  
cook; Leland, MS  
Georgie Fisher, garden-  
er/flower arranger;  
Greenville, MS  
Albert Kelly,  
barbecue pit maker;  
Monroe, LA  
Jewel McCain, tamale  
maker; Vicksburg, MS  
Irma Rodriguez,  
tamale maker;  
Natchitoches, LA  
Martha Skelton, quilter;  
Vicksburg, MS  
Henrietta Taylor, quilter;  
Greenville, MS  
Alice Virden,  
gardener/flower  
arranger;  
Greenville, MS  
Edna White, tatter;  
Jackson, MS  
Tampa Wilson, basket  
maker; Benton, MS

### PLAY AREA

*Delta Dance Hall*  
Eddie Cusic, blues gui-  
tar; Leland,  
Mississippi

THE TIM LAUGHLIN'S  
NEW ORLEANS  
DIXIELAND JAZZ BAND —  
Dixieland Jazz  
Ed Dowling, trumpet;  
New Orleans, LA  
David Hansen, drums;  
New Orleans, LA  
Tim Laughlin, clarinet;  
New Orleans, LA  
Tom Roberts, piano;  
Annapolis, MD  
David Sager, trombone;  
Washington, DC

BIG LUCKY & HIS  
MIGHTY MEN OF SOUND  
— Traditional Blues;  
Memphis, TN  
Shirley Bobo, vocals  
Levester "Big Lucky"  
Carter, guitar/vocals  
Willie "Boogieman"  
Hubbard, keyboards  
Melvin Lee, bass  
David Valentine,  
drums/vocals

KENNY BILL STINSON &  
THE ARK-LA-MYSTICS —  
Rockabilly  
Kevin Gordon, electric  
guitar; Nashville, TN  
Paul Griffith, drums;  
Nashville, TN  
Lorne Rall, bass guitar;  
Nashville, TN  
Kenny Bill Stinson,  
piano/guitar; W.  
Monroe, LA

SWEET MISS COFFY &  
THE MISSISSIPPI  
BURN'IN BLUES BAND —  
Soul Blues  
Dennis Bonds, guitar;  
Jackson, MI  
Gregory Dishmon,  
drums; Pearl, MS  
Veeta Hatten,  
keyboards/vocals;  
Jackson, MS  
Willie James Hatten,  
bass guitar; Jackson,  
MS  
George Myrick, guitar;  
Jackson, MS  
Claude C. Wells, key-  
boards; Jackson, MS

THE RUFUS THOMAS  
GROUP — Rhythm &  
Blues; Memphis, TN  
Jimmy Kinnard, bass  
Charles Pitts, guitar  
James Robertson, drums  
Jim Spake, tenor sax  
Marvell Thomas,  
keyboards  
Rufus Thomas, vocals  
Scott Thompson,  
trumpet

### Camp Site

Bob Neill, camp  
activities; Leland, MS  
Butch Richenbach, duck  
caller; Stuttgart, AR  
Ann Sides, camp  
activities;  
Rosedale, MS  
George Sides, camp  
caretaker;  
Rosedale, MS

### WORK AREA

Mabry Anderson, crop  
duster; Clarksdale, MS  
Harry Williams Branton,  
catfish farmer;  
Leland, MS  
Collins Brent, boat  
works;  
Greenville, MS  
Grady "Bubba" Brown,  
crop duster; Lake  
Providence, LA  
Wayne "Tookie" Collom,  
cotton work/harmoni-  
ca; Rayville, LA  
Henry Dorsey, cotton  
work/guitar;  
Rayville, LA  
Robroy Fisher,  
cotton farmer;  
Greenville, MS  
Penny Morris,  
net maker;  
Yazoo City, MS

Tom Morris, net maker;  
Yazoo City, MS  
Billy Pearson, cotton  
farmer; Sumner, MS  
Phil Robertson, hunting  
& fishing skills; W.  
Monroe, LA  
Oren Russell,  
towboat captain;  
Baton Rouge, LA  
Hugh Warren,  
catfish farmer;  
Indianola, MS

### WORSHIP AREA

*Worship Crafts*  
Rabbi David Skopp,  
Jewish crafts;  
Memphis, TN  
Annie Staten,  
baptismal robe maker;  
Monroe, LA  
Gayle Steen, altar cloth  
maker; Clarksdale, MS  
Martha Weissinger,  
christening gown  
maker; Greenville, MS

*Worship Stage*  
Penola Caesar, lined-out  
hymns; Monroe, LA

THE GERALD LEWIS  
SINGERS — Gospel  
Billy Bays, electric gui-  
tar/bass guitar;  
Crossett, AR  
Renee Calongne, vocals;  
W. Monroe, LA  
Kelvin Clark, electric  
guitar; W. Monroe, LA  
Freedona Dobbins,  
vocals;  
W. Monroe, LA  
Allan Eppinette, electric  
guitar/bass guitar;  
Monroe, LA  
Nick Ezell, steel guitar;  
Bastrop, LA  
Chuck Harris, drums;  
Bastrop, LA  
Gerald Lewis, piano;  
Monroe, LA

MARVIN MYLES FAMILY  
— Gospel  
Keith Myles, vocals;  
Washington, DC  
LaShondra Myles,  
vocals; Lyon, MS  
Rev. Marvin Myles,  
vocals; Lyon, MS  
Marvin Myles, II,  
vocals; Lyon, MS  
Melvin Myles,  
vocals; Lyon, MS  
Olivia Myles,  
coordinator;  
Lyon, MS  
Samantha Myles,  
vocals; Lyon, MS  
Michael Thomas,  
keyboards;  
Clarksdale, MS

Reverend Willie  
Morganfield,  
oratory skills;  
Clarksdale, MS

Brother Phillip Payne,  
oratory skills; Lake  
Village, AR

REVELATORS — Gospel  
Gene Coghlan, vocals;  
Drew, MS  
Jim Ellis, vocals/guitar;  
Drew, MS  
Carl Massengail,  
guitar/banjo/vocals;  
Jayess, MS  
Herbie Swain,  
vocals/guitar;  
Cleveland, MS

WINNSBORO EASTER  
ROCK ENSEMBLE;  
Winnsboro, LA  
Hattie M. Addison  
Laketa Addison  
Booker T. Burkhalter  
Sheila Jackson  
Jimmy Jones  
Tammie Lynch  
Shirley Spears  
Rev. Lionell Wilson

FOOD CONCESSIONS  
Catfish Corner, Horn  
Lake, MS  
Willingham's  
Bar-B-Que,  
Memphis, TN



# FESTIVAL PARTICIPANTS

## African Immigrant Folklife

### ENTERPRISE AREA

#### AFRICAN BRAIDS AND ACCENTS (Senegalese)

Agnes Diouf;  
Silver Spring, MD  
Sainabou Sallah;  
Silver Spring, MD

#### TOUBA BRAIDING CENTER (Senegalese)

Mama Keita  
Fatou Thiam  
Issa Thiam

Thony Anyiam, owner/  
designer, Anyiam's  
Creations International  
(Nigerian); Langley  
Park, MD

Bukola Babalola, owner/  
manager, Oyingbo  
Market (Nigerian);  
Hyattsville, MD

Gloria Cole, importer  
(Sierra Leonean);  
Hyattsville, MD

Tamiru Degefa, owner/  
manager, Merkato  
Market (Ethiopian);  
Washington, DC

Dame Gueye, glass  
painter (Senegalese);  
Greenbelt, MD

Namory Keita, wood-  
carver (Malian);  
Washington, DC

Maurice Kinyanjui,  
owner, Simba Records  
(Kenyan); Langley  
Park, MD

Esther Mahlangu,  
Ndebele painter/  
beadworker (South  
African)

Nabil Makar, visual artist  
(Egyptian);  
Wheaton, MD

Rahel Mekuria, owner/  
manager, Addissu  
Gebeya (Ethiopian);  
Washington, DC

Abdirahman  
Mohammed,  
visual artist (Somali);  
Riverdale, MD

Omar Nyang, tailor  
(Senegalese);  
Mt. Rainier, MD

Nwangaji "Gihgi"  
Ogbonna, dressmaker,  
Gihgi's African  
Fashions (Nigerian);  
Washington, DC

Ann Olumba,  
braider (Nigerian);  
Washington, DC  
Dorothy Osei-Kuffuor,  
dressmaker, Sarpong/  
Osei Enterprises  
(Ghanaian); Riverdale,  
MD

Patrick Owusu-Afriyie,  
shoemaker  
(Ghanaian); Langley  
Park, MD

John Rutayaga,  
traditional medicine  
(Tanzanian);  
Washington, DC

Muna Salih, henna artist  
(Sudanese);  
Falls Church, VA

Olubanke Sekoni,  
owner, Levirop's  
Lagos Fashions 'n  
Fabrics (Nigerian);  
Langley Park, MD

Mamo Tessema, potter  
(Ethiopian); New  
Carrollton, MD

Mahmoud Tutu,  
owner/butcher,  
Tutu Market and  
Butcher (Egyptian);  
Falls Church, VA

Rome Yitbarek, basket  
weaver (Ethiopian);  
Alexandria, VA

### MUSIC & DANCE

#### AFRICAN MUSIC

AMBASSADORS — *Juju*,  
*Soukous* (Nigerian);  
Langley Park, MD

Itunu Olu Abaiko,  
drummer

Saubana Adekunle,  
conga

Sami Agagu, lead vocals  
Ayalere Alajede,  
talking drum

Tope Aregbesola, vocals  
Samuel Ebidighi, bass  
Russel Lyle, saxophone  
Frank Martins,  
lead rhythm guitar

AKWA IBOM ASSOCIATION  
— Traditional Music  
& Dance (Nigerian);  
Forestville, MD

Eventus Akai,  
dancer/drummer

Emmanuel Akpa,  
dancer/drummer

Ekerete Akpaete,  
dancer/drummer

Isaiah Akpaete,  
dancer/drummer

Grace Akpan, dancer

Imo Akpan,  
dancer/drummer

Regina Akpan, dancer

Vivian Bassey, dancer

Edemekong Esema,  
dancer

Ibok Esema,  
dancer/drummer

Samuel Esema,  
dancer/drummer

Idongesit Eshie, dancer

Mfon Eyo,  
dancer/drummer

Idorenyin Ikpim,  
dancer/drummer

Justina Ikpim, dancer

Mfonobong Ikpim,  
dancer/drummer

Florence Inwang, dancer

Helen Inwang, dancer

Paul Inyang,  
dancer/drummer

Benjamin Obong,  
dancer/drummer

Nse Obong,  
dancer/drummer

Uwem Obong,  
dancer/drummer

Eno Okon, dancer

Louisa Okon, dancer

Wilson Oduk,  
dancer/drummer

Roland Udo,  
dancer/drummer

Utibe Udo,  
dancer/drummer

Aniekeme Udofia,  
dancer/drummer

Sam Udofia,  
dancer/drummer

Unyime Udofia, dancer

Beatrice Udonsen,  
dancer

Michael Ukpong,  
dancer/drummer

#### ASANTE KOTOKO ASSOCIATION

Sandy Osei Achampong,  
drummer

Kingsley Addai,  
drummer

Yaw Fobi Agyapong,  
drummer

Vera Agyeiwaa,  
drummer

Yaw Ofori Ahenkorah,  
drummer

Rad Akorli, drummer

Mammyaa Pokua  
Amoah, dancer

Nana B. Amoah, Jr.,  
dancer

Jennifer Anokye, dancer

Maureen Anokye, dancer

Angie Boadu, dancer

Yaw Boakyee,  
leader, drummer

John Kankam, dancer

Georgina Nsiah,  
leader, dancer

Michelle Nsiah, dancer

Cecilia Ntim, dancer

Daniel Ntim, drummer

Margaret Ntim, drummer

Matilda Ntim, dancer

Alice Osei, drummer

Nickie Osei, dancer

Sandra Osei, drummer

Albert Poku-Sarkodie,  
drummer

Joseph Yeboah, leader/  
dancer/drummer

BAKULA, HIGHLIFE &  
SOUKOUS,  
Washington, DC

Bilo Ray Adoye,  
vocals (Ghanaian)

Juju Amegavi,  
dancer (Togolese)

Kosua Amegavi,  
dancer (Togolese)

Francis Asongda, rhythm  
guitar (Nigerian)

Itadi Bonney, lead guitar/  
vocals (Togolese)

George Kwaku,  
keyboard (Ivoirian)

Gerti Selina Mwaro,  
vocals (South African)

Samba N'Diaye,  
bass (Senegalese)

Jean Papy Ramazani,  
vocals (Congolese,  
Democratic Republic)

#### EWI PRAISE POETRY

(Nigerian);  
Lanham, MD

Abiodun Adepoju, vocals

Kemi Anazia,  
dancer/vocals

Kemi Oriowo,  
dancer/vocals

Tayo Oriowo, drummer

#### KANKOURAN —

Traditional Dance &  
Drumming (Senegam-  
bian/Pan-African);

Washington, DC

Ateya Ball, dancer

Paula Coleman, dancer

Antionette Connell,  
dancer

Sue Ann Forde, dancer

Randee L. Grant, dancer

Medoune Gueye,  
drummer

Wilhelmina Joseph,  
dancer

Assane Konte, leader

Steve Mcallister,  
drummer

Malari Moore, drummer

Joseph Soh Ngwa,  
drummer

Babatunde Pyne,  
drummer

Kevin Waller, dancer

THE KASBAH BAND —

Moroccan *Chaabi*  
and *Rai* Music;

Alexandria, VA

Lahsen Azzar, percussion

Mohamed Djebbour,  
lead guitar

Karim El Hamti,  
lead vocalist

Kamal Essalhi, violin/  
background vocals

Ismail Haddou, bass/  
background vocals

Abdel Kader Rhanime,  
saxophone/keyboards/  
background vocals

Abderhahman Rhanime,  
drums/background  
vocals

Anis Rhanime,  
keyboards

Mohamed Rhanime,  
percussion



## FESTIVAL PARTICIPANTS

- KENGMO** — Traditional Music & Dance (Cameroonian); Washington, DC  
Terril K. Dongmo  
Pernell D. Fongan  
Kengmo  
Agnes Koutchieu  
Patrick Kwankam  
Mitchell Lamont  
Linda Machekou
- KOKOMOS** — *Juju, Makossa*, Yoruba Gospel (Nigerian); Washington, DC  
Layo Ajibade  
Nathaniel Ajibari  
Titus Ogungbe  
John Okanlawon  
Tayo Oriowo  
Gabriel Osanyingbemi
- DJIMO KOUYATE & MAMAYA** — African Jazz (Senegalese/Pan-African); Washington, DC  
Alex Holland, saxophone  
John Holland, keyboard  
Aisha Jackson, vocals  
Amadou Kouyate, *djembe* drums  
Djimo Kouyate, *kora*/vocals  
Tom Newman, guitar  
Greg Phillips, trap drums  
Jay Turner, bass  
Joe Yanovitch, guitar
- MAHALA** — Township Music (South African); Bethesda, MD  
James Levy, keyboards  
Richard Lynch, drums  
Steve McGovern, bass guitar  
Apry'al McNeil, vocals  
Thembi Mtshali, vocals  
Tabetha Mueller, vocals  
Mongezi "Chris" Ntaka, lead guitar/music director  
Jean Francis Varre, percussion
- MEMORY OF AFRICAN CULTURE** — Traditional Music & Dance (Senegambian/Pan-African); Washington, DC  
Afia Akoto, dancer  
Akosua Akoto  
Akua Akoto  
Fofie Akoto  
Kofi Akoto  
Kweku Akoto  
Osei Akoto  
Mahiri Edward, lead drummer  
Malik Hooks  
Awura-Akua Johari  
Akua Femi Kouyate, dancer  
Amadou Kouyate  
Bintou Kouyate  
Djimo Kouyate, *kora*  
Makini Niliwaambieni, dancer  
Diallo Sumbry  
Nkenge Sumbry
- MURIDULAH MALE AND FEMALE CHORAL GROUPS** — Sufi Music (Senegambian)  
DAHIRATUL JAMIATU SALAAM OF WASHINGTON, D.C.  
Cheikh Dieng, vocals  
Ndiounga Dieng, vocals  
Mame Diokhane, vocals  
Rassul Fall, vocals  
Mamadou Mountaga Gueye, vocals  
Mokhtar Gueye, vocals  
Mamadou Kane, vocals  
Cheikh Kebe, vocals  
Mame Mor Mbacke, vocals  
Abdou Lahat Mbaye, vocals  
Lamine Mbaye, vocals  
Malick Mbothe, vocals  
Fallou Samb, vocals  
Mamadou Samb, vocals  
Moustapha Sankhare, vocals  
Abdoulaye Pele Seck, vocals  
Talla Seye, vocals  
Elhadj Thiam, vocals  
Mbaye Thiam, vocals  
DAHIRA SOKNA MAME DIARRA BOUSSO  
Katy Ba, vocals  
Fatou Dia, vocals  
Mariame Diagne, vocals  
Adja Diop, vocals  
Aissatou Diop, vocals  
Ndeye Diop, vocals  
Sosse Gassama, vocals
- Adja Guine, vocals  
Aissatou Koundoul, vocals  
Lika Ndiaye, vocals  
Soda Ndiaye, vocals  
Ndounbe Niang, vocals  
Adja Seck, vocals  
Atta Seck, vocals  
Adja Thiam, vocals  
Mame Penda Thiam, vocals  
Maty Thiam, vocals
- NORTH AFRICAN ENSEMBLE** — Traditional Music; Falls Church, VA  
Majed Alsaray  
Khaled Baldi  
Corina Bouzghia  
Mohammed Bouzghia  
Mahmoud Hassanein  
Sayed Issmeal  
Mahmoud Tutu
- NORTHERN SUDANESE COMMUNITY** — Traditional Music & Dance  
Hadia M. Abdel-Mageed, vocals;  
Springfield, VA  
Ali Elsigaid, vocals;  
Washington, DC  
Tabaruk Gibreel, dancer;  
Washington, DC  
Amira Yousif, dancer;  
Washington, DC
- PA ALEX AND GENERATIONS** — Dance Hall Music (Ghanaian); Chevy Chase, MD  
Pa Alex, lead vocals  
Billy Da, trumpet  
Papa Louis, lead guitar  
Kwasi Michael, keyboard  
Sammy, saxophone  
Kwame Seth, bass guitar/vocals  
Frances Tawa, congas  
Nan Willi, rhythm guitar
- THE VOLTA ENSEMBLE** — Traditional Music & Dance (Ghanaian); Rockville, MD  
Cynthia Aku, dancer  
David Aku, Jr., dancer  
David Aku, Sr., drummer  
Josephine Aku, musician  
Gideon Allotey, drummer  
Gordon Allotey, drummer  
Amanda Azuma, dancer  
Eric Azuma, drummer  
Evelyn Azuma, musician  
Lynda Azuma, musician  
Sefe Azuma, dancer  
Selom Azuma, dancer  
Enyonam Blege, dancer  
Eyram Blege, dancer  
Felly Blege, drummer  
Nana Blege, drummer  
Sitsofe Blege, dancer  
Jeff Kriebel, drummer  
Alexandra Nuwame, dancer  
Georgina Nuwame, musician  
Pascal Nuwame, dancer  
Sharon Nuwame, dancer  
Emmanuel Sawyer, drummer  
Afi Vodi, dancer  
Ama Vodi, dancer  
Gladys Vodi, drummer  
Mawuli Vodi, dancer
- Church of the Living God — West African Gospel Chorus; Hyattsville, MD  
Cheikh Amala Diabaté, *ngoni* musician (Malian); Silver Spring, MD  
Eritrean Cultural and Civic Center (Eritrean); Washington, DC  
Nana Ernest Frimpong, drummer (Ghanaian); Silver Spring, MD  
Hassan Gure, *oud*/vocals (Somali); Washington, DC  
The International House of Prayer for All People (Nigerian); Washington, DC  
Kyaga — traditional music & dance (Ugandan)
- Liziba — Soukous (Congolese, Democratic Republic/central African); Silver Spring, MD  
Nile Ethiopian Ensemble — traditional music & dance (Ethiopian); Washington, DC  
Rivers State Forum — traditional music & dance (Nigerian); Baltimore, MD  
Simba Wanyika & Virunga — Soboso (Swahili Pop)  
Zumunta Association — traditional music & dance (Nigerian)
- PALAUER AREA/COMMUNITY CELEBRATIONS**  
ALL NGWA CULTURAL ORGANIZATION; Washington, DC  
Christiana Abengowe  
Innocent Abengowe  
Agnes Akwarandu  
Festa Anyatonwu, leader  
Ego Atulobi, leader  
Cecelia Ironi  
Chinyere Nwachukwu  
Udo Nwatu  
Uloma Nwatu  
Nnenna Ogbonna  
Nwangaji Ogbonna, leader  
Comfort Wosu
- GHANAIA DUBBAR**  
Asanteman Kuo Organization
- NORTHERN SUDANESE NAMING CEREMONY/COMING OF AGE**  
Ali Dinar  
Ahmed E. Elbashir  
Zeinab Hag El Safi; Arlington, VA  
Tamador Gibreel; Washington, DC  
Muna Salih; Falls Church, VA
- OROMO STORYTELLING**  
Dhaba Wayessa; Washington, DC



# FESTIVAL PARTICIPANTS

PALAUVER HUT Joe Ngwa Vera Oye Yaa-Anna (Liberian); Washington, DC	Eric Waller (African American); Halifax, VA Mark Williams (Guyanese); Alexandria, VA	Christo Adongrech Peter Bol Osman Bongo Angong Kout Deng Peter Karlo Nicholas Deng Kur Daniel Leek Elonai Masungu Jimmy Mulla Juana Obdhiah Peter Sunday Oliver Tunda	Ifeyinwa "Iffy" Tagbo-Ogbuagu (Nigerian); Vienna, VA Cecelia Vilakazi (South African); Washington, DC Sara Workeneh (Ethiopian); College Park, MD	Muhamad Yihia Sadek Dweik, vocals Saber Abdallah Joundi, vocals Muhamad Talgi Samour Sader, vocals Kamel Ahmad Shahin, vocals
SENEGAMBIAN SABAR EVENT Gambian Association; Silver Spring, MD Mar Gueye with Sing Sing Rhythym (Senegalese) Senegalese Support Society; Silver Spring, MD	TEACHING & LEARNING CULTURE ANANSEGROMMA STORYTELLING THEATRE COMPANY; Springfield, VA Kwame Ansah Brew Kofi Roger Dennis Anioma Association, Washington, DC	SWAHILI LANGUAGE & STORYTELLING Mkamburi Mayaa Mshila Lyabaya; College Park, MD	FOOD CONCESSIONS Bukata Restaurant, Arlington, VA Feast of the Nile, Triangle, VA	MONKS OF WAT THAI OF WASHINGTON, D.C. — Buddhist Devotional Chant Ven. Phramaha Surasak Jivanando Ven. Phramaha Tanat Inthisan Ven. Phramaha Taweepong Khampitak Ven. Phra Ampol Polman Ven. Phramaha Prakob Saisangchan
SOMALI COMMUNITY <i>BURAABUR</i> Asha Adem, <i>buraanbur</i> ; Riverdale, MD Fadumo Dheel, <i>buraanbur</i> Hassan Gure, <i>oud</i> ; Washington, DC Halima Hayi, <i>buraanbur</i> Ibado Hirmoge, <i>buraan-</i> <i>bur</i> ; Fairfax, VA Maryam Hussein, <i>buraanbur</i> ; Washington, DC Rukia Hussein, <i>buraan-</i> <i>bur</i> ; Alexandria, VA Jawahir Noor, <i>buraanbur</i>	CAMP AFRICA Remi Aluko; Burtonsville, MD ETHIOPIAN CENTER FOR ARTS AND CULTURE; Washington, DC Seleshe Damessae ETHIOPIAN COMMUNITY CENTER; Washington, DC Hailu Fulas Hermela Kebede ISOKAN YORUBA SCHOOL; Washington, DC Sharon Ogunfiditimi Ogbu Okiri	FOODWAYS Veronica Abu (Ghanaian); Silver Spring, MD Nomvula Cook (Lesotho); Fort Washington, MD Qamar Dahir (Somali) ; Falls Church, VA Lola Dawodu (Nigerian); Largo, MD Tshion Debbs (Ethiopian); Silver Spring, MD Basse Dieng (Senegalese); Mt. Rainier, MD Liberata Ehimba (Senegalese); Washington, DC Osama El-Sayed (Egyptian); Fairfax Station, VA Mirelle Green (Nigerian); Oxon Hill, MD Ibado Hirmoge (Somali); Fairfax, VA Samir Labriny (Moroccan); Alexandria, VA Maria Augusta Faria Lima (Cape Verdean); Gaithersburg, MD Lakech Jezequel (Ethiopian); Washington, DC Jane Musonye (Kenyan); Upper Marlboro, MD Juliana Row (Sierra Leonean); Odenton, MD	Sacred Sounds: Belief & Society MUSIC PERFORMANCE & NARRATIVE TRADITIONS BROTHERS INC. 4 DA LORD — Christian Hip Hop; Bronx, NY Humberto Bocachica, vocals Ricardo Bocachica, vocals Michael Hamlett, vocals Jairo Rodriguez, vocals HAWAII GAGAKU KENKYUKAI — Japanese Ritual Music; Honolulu, HI Roy Forbes, <i>talko/komabue</i> Lynne Fukuda, <i>gakuso/shoko</i> Robert Herr, <i>kakkotsannotsuzumi</i> Yoshie Hirose, <i>kagura dancel/shoko</i> Edean Kinoshita, <i>gakubiwa</i> Darin Miyashiro, <i>gakuso</i> Anna Pung, <i>bugaku rakuson</i> Sam Schank, <i>hichiriki</i> Alan Shamoto, <i>sho/talko</i> Masatoshi Shamoto, <i>ryutekikomabue</i> JERUSALEMITE RELIGIOUS CHANT GROUP — Muslim Praise Song; Jerusalem Ismail Sudki Dwiek, vocals Jamil Diab Dweik, vocals	NATAL '77 — South African A Cappella; Durban, South Africa Bhili Biyela Neunga Biyela Nicholas Biyela Richard Magubane Gcinimpilo Mbuyisa Isaac Mbuyisa Samuel Mbuyisa Paulos Msimanga Richard Zungu Emanuel Zwane OLD REGULAR BAPTISTS OF THE INDIAN BOTTOM ASSOCIATION — Gospel/Lined-Out Hymnody; South- eastern Kentucky Elwood Cornett, vocals Kathy Cornett, vocals Grethel Fields, vocals Jim Fields, vocals Don Pratt, vocals Shirley Pratt, vocals OMO 'NAGÓ (Children of the Anágó) — Orisha Sacred Music Richard Byrd, percus- sion/vocals; East Orange, NJ Beverly Hutchinson, vocals; New York, NY
SOUTH AFRICAN BRAAI Felleng Kalema; Burke, VA Bongani Mabaso; Essex, MD Selloane Makhetha; Washington, DC Ranjawe M. Mahlangu; Baltimore, MD Sibusiso Matsinye; Baltimore, MD Vuyiswa Mwerinde; Temple Hills, MD	SIERRA LEONE COMMUNITY SCHOOL Chidi Augu-Jones, Springfield, VA Halette Tucker, Burtonsville, MD SOMALI SATURDAY SCHOOL Fawsiya Abdi; Arlington, VA Asha Ali; Riverdale, MD Amina Amin; Silver Spring, MD Hassan Gure; Washington, DC Mohammad Musse; Riverdale, MD Barlin Noor; Centerville, VA SOUTHERN SUDANESE COMMUNITY; Washington, DC			
STREET THEATER Tanya Dallas (African American); Richmond, VA Makale Faber (Guinean); Washington, DC Florescia Gonzalez (Honduran); Centerville, VA Emma Thembaní (Ghanaian); Arlington, VA				



## FESTIVAL PARTICIPANTS

John Mason, drums/  
vocals; Brooklyn,  
NY  
Claudette "Olufemi"  
Oyewayo, *shekere*/  
vocals; New York, NY  
Eric Rucker, *shekere*/  
*agogo* (bells)/  
vocals; Pittsburgh, PA  
Larry Washington,  
drums/vocals; East  
Orange, NJ

ELAINE PURKEY AND  
FRIENDS — Gospel  
Stephanie Adkins, bass/  
vocals; Logan County,  
WV  
Telina Adkins, piano/  
vocals; Logan County,  
WV  
Homer Scott Holstein,  
guitar/mandolin/  
banjo; Boone  
County, WV  
Matt Mitchell, guitar/  
vocals; Lincoln  
County, WV  
Elaine Purkey, guitar/  
vocals; Lincoln  
County, WV

RAGAMALIKA GROUP  
(Maragatham  
Ramaswamy  
and Students) —  
Carnatic Devotional  
Music of India;  
Washington, DC  
N. Janakiraman  
Nithya Nagarajan  
Uma Nagarajan  
Krupa Rajan  
Prasant Rajan, violin  
Maragatham  
Ramaswamy  
Sandhya Ramnath  
S. Sivanandan  
R. K. Tiruchelvan

NANCY RICHARDSON —  
Native American  
Story Songs;  
McKinleyville, CA  
Nancy Richardson,  
vocals  
Bert Steele, clapper

SEVEN SONS — Quartet-  
Style Gospel;  
Washington, DC  
Quentin Childress,  
lead guitar/vocals  
Lee Hailey, drums  
Rev. James Hardy,  
vocals  
Nathan Jones,  
organ/vocals  
Thomas Peterson, vocals  
Joseph Preston, vocals  
Frank Robinson, vocals  
Wardell Rogers,  
bass guitar

SHIRU SHIR  
(Sing a Song) —  
Jewish Traditions;  
Jerusalem  
Cantor Shlomo Barhum  
Cantor Ezra Barnea  
David Chai  
Sara Charat, songstress  
Cantor David Moyal

ST. AUGUSTINE GOSPEL  
CHOIR; St. Augustine  
Roman Catholic  
Church,  
Washington, DC  
Valeria Foster,  
choir director

Gwen Adams  
Joanne Barber  
Cecelia Braveboy  
Everett Brooks  
Violet Broomfield  
Sandra Bunting-Tyson  
John Butt  
Leonthena Carrington  
Patricia Carter  
Amy Chan  
Marshall Clair  
Tacha Coleman  
Vanessa Cooke  
Natalie Cooper  
Ron Crenshaw  
Samuel Cromwell  
Mary Degan  
Pauline Dines  
Michael Douglas  
Beverly Evans  
John Goudeaux  
Desiree Grant  
Jacqueline Greene  
Angela Griffiths  
Joyce Marie Hall  
Keith Harris  
Brenda Harrison  
Emily Harrison  
Cecil Herd

Kathleen Herd  
L'Tanya Holley  
Brian Kapfer  
Raymond Kemmerer  
LeRoy Martin  
Florence Matthews  
Erma Mellard  
Richard Middleton  
Mary Moffitt  
Shirley Monastra  
Ron Morgan  
Michael Newsom  
Revandra Newton  
Gabriele Nicolet  
Alda Otley  
Gillian Pratt  
Cornelia Rajah  
Angela Richardson  
Emily Rose  
Pamela Sanford  
Lester Saucer  
Jacquelyn Smith  
Jeanne-Marie Smith  
Shirl Smith  
Bonita Spurgeon  
Althea Thomas  
Willie Thomas  
Stephanie Toliver  
Janet Topolsky  
Phillip Williams  
Dorothea Witaker  
Patricia Yates

SWEET HONEY  
IN THE ROCK —  
African-American  
A Cappella;  
Washington, DC  
Ysaye Maria Barnwell,  
vocals  
Nitanju Bolade Casel,  
vocals  
Shirley Childress  
Johnson, sign language  
interpreter  
Aisha Kahlil, vocals  
Carol Maillard, vocals  
Bernice Johnson Reagon,  
vocals

INTERNATIONAL  
CHRISTIAN CHURCH —  
South African Worship  
Traditions; Seshego,  
Pietersburg, South  
Africa

### The Ralph Rinzler Memorial Concert

Paul Brown; Pilot Moun-  
tain, NC  
Robert Dotson; Sugar  
Grove, NC  
Alan Jabbour;  
Washington, DC  
Robert "Stu" Jamieson;  
Longwood, FL  
Abby Ladin;  
Bloomington, IN  
Julia Mainer; Burton, MI  
Wade Mainer;  
Burton, MI  
Bruce Molsky;  
Arlington, VA

THE HORSE FLIES;  
Trumansburg, NY  
Jeff Claus  
June Drucker  
Judy Hyman  
Rich Stearns

THE NEW LOST CITY  
RAMBLERS  
John Cohen;  
Putnam Valley, NY  
Tracy Schwarz; Cox's  
Mill, WV  
Mike Seeger;  
Lexington, VA

ORIGINAL FAT CITY  
STRING BAND;  
Trumansburg, NY  
Mac Benford  
Walt Koken  
Bob Potts

THE RED MULES  
Beth Braden; Ravenna,  
OH  
Lynn Frederick;  
Ravenna, OH  
Jeff Goehring; Zoar, OH  
Rick Goehring; Zoar,  
OH  
Susie Goehring; Zoar,  
OH  
Rodney Sutton;  
Marshall, NC



## SPECIAL CONCERTS & EVENTS

### Third Annual Friends of the Festival Ralph Rinzler Memorial Concert "Celebrating the Revival of Old-Time Music & Dance"

Saturday, June 28, 5:30 – 9:00 p.m.

Mississippi Delta Dance Hall Tent

**MUSIC BY:**

The New Lost City Ramblers  
Alan Jabbour  
Mike Seeger  
The Red Mules

Wade and Julia Mainer  
The Original Fat City String Band  
Bruce Molsky  
The Horse Flies

**DANCERS AND CALLERS:**

Rodney Sutton  
Abby Ladin

Robert Dotson  
Robert "Stu" Jamieson

This concert has been made possible with support from the Friends of the Festival, Bob Dylan, the Ruth Mott Fund, The Recording Industries Music Performance Trust Funds, Homespun Tapes, County Records, the Woody Guthrie Foundation, Sugar Hill Records, Kate Rinzler, and Smithsonian Folkways Recordings.

### Mississippi Delta Blues Concert Featuring Rufus Thomas

Sunday, June 29, 7:00 – 9:00 p.m.

Mississippi Delta Dance Hall Tent

**THE RUFUS THOMAS GROUP:**

Rufus Thomas  
Charles Pitts  
Jim Spake  
Marvell Thomas

Jimmy Kinnard  
James Robertson  
Scott Thompson

This concert has been made possible with support from The Rhythm & Blues Foundation.

## RELATED PROGRAMS



**EXHIBITION:** *Bringin' It All Back Home: Photographs Celebrating the 20th Anniversary of the Mississippi Delta Blues Festival, Greenville, Mississippi*, Mississippi Delta program site, throughout the Festival. September 20, 1997, will mark the start of the 20th annual Mississippi Delta Blues Festival. Until 20 years ago, Delta blues was not officially celebrated in its own home region, even though many around the world recognized and cherished its distinctive repertoires and styles. Today, the Mississippi Delta Blues Festival showcases musicians from all over, but it still has special meaning for the Delta's native daughters and sons.

**EXHIBITION:** *Keeping Time: Photographs of Musicians by John Cohen and Milt Hinton*, Corcoran Gallery of Art, through July 14. Photographer John Cohen is a founding member of the New Lost City Ramblers, a Smithsonian Folkways artist, and a researcher and compiler of recordings of others from Kentucky, Peru, and elsewhere. Musicians photographed include Bob Dylan, Pete and Mike Seeger, Elizabeth Cotten, Bill Monroe, Doc Watson, the Rev. Gary Davis, Lester Flatt and Earl Scruggs, Roscoe Holcomb, Andean flutists from Peru, gospel singers, and more.

**FILM:** "The Films of John Cohen," National Gallery of Art, June 28-29. This free series of the photographer's lyrical films about music and culture is presented in association with the Corcoran Gallery of Art exhibition. Films include *That High Lonesome Sound*, *Sara and Maybelle*, *The End of an Old Song*, *Musical Holdouts*, and *Post-Industrial Fiddle*. The National Gallery of Art auditorium is located in the gallery's East Building, 4th Street and Constitution Avenue NW. Call 202-842-6799 for film schedules.

**LECTURE:** "Music of the People, A Slide Talk and Musical Performance by John Cohen," Corcoran Gallery of Art, July 1, 6:30 p.m.





Call the Corcoran Gallery at 202-639-1770 for more information on programs there.  
The Corcoran Gallery of Art is located at 500 17th Street NW, at the corner of New York Avenue.



# SCHEDULE

## WEDNESDAY, JUNE 25

### AFRICAN IMMIGRANT FOLKLIFE

	Community Talk	Craft & Enterprise	Foodways & Homelife	Palaver Place Community Social Hall	Teaching & Learning Culture	Music & Dance
11:00						
	Opening Ceremony  Senator Thad Cochran, Secretary Michael Heyman, Mrs. Pat Fordice, Lt Governor Kathleen Blanco, Dr. Sulayman Nyang, Dr. Bernice Reagon, Terry Carlstrom, Representative Bennie Thompson, Senator John Breaux					
12:00						
1:00	Immigration Stories 	Ongoing demonstrations and displays of African immi- grant business- es and crafts- people: African Braids and Accents (Senegalese hair-braiding traditions); Addisu Gebeya (Ethiopian store); Rome Yitbarek (Ethiopian region basket maker, Oromo); Sarpong-Osei Enterprises (Ghanaian tra- ditional dress- making and clothing importers)	Ethiopian Coffee Ceremony: Center for Ethiopian Arts & Culture	Ugandan Music & Dance: Kyaga	Center for Ethiopian Arts & Culture: Seleshe Damessae	Highlife and Soukous. Bakula
	Old Traditions in New Settings		Nigerian Cooking: Ifly Tagbo- Ogbuagu	Somali Oud. Hassan Gure	Greetings Workshop	Cameroonian Music and Dance: Kengmo & Nzempiah
2:00	Promoting Traditional Arts		Ghanaian Cooking Veronica Abu 	Vera Oye Yaa- Anna & Joe Ngwa	Ugandan Music and Dance: Kyaga	South African Township Music: Mahala & Chris Ntaka
	Passing on Culture					
3:00	Culture Bridging		Ethiopian Regional Cooking (Oromo): Rome Yitbarek	Mural Painting: African Immigrant Artists	Central African Dance: Kengmo	Traditional Kora Music: Djumo Kouyate & Sons
	Work Experience Stories 		Nigerian Cooking/ Presentation of Meal: Ifly Tagbo- Ogbuagu	Vera Oye Yaa- Anna & Joe Ngwa	Ethiopian Music Workshop: Seleshe Damessae	Highlife and Soukous: Bakula
5:00	Connections to Home				African  Immigrants on the Internet	Somali Oud: Hassan Gure
5:30- 7:00						South African Township Music Mahala & Chris Ntaka
7:00- 9:00						Somali Oud: Hassan Gure South African A Cappella Natal '77 Hip Hop:  Brothers Inc & da Lord



# SCHEDULE

Schedules are subject to change.  
Check signs in each program area  
for specific information.

## MISSISSIPPI DELTA

Home Narrative	Delta Kitchen	Camp Narrative	Delta Dance Hall	Worship Stage
<b>Opening Ceremony</b> <p>Senator Thad Cochran, Secretary Michael Heyman, Mrs. Pat Fordice, Lt. Governor Kathleen Blanco, Dr. Sulayman Nyang, Dr. Bernice Reagon, Terry Carlstrom, Representative Bennie Thompson, Senator John Breaux</p>				
Tattooing. Edna White	Chinese Food Sally Chow	Fishing Stories	Dixieland Jazz. Tim Laughlin's New Orleans Dixieland Jazz Band	Lined-Out Hymns with Penola Caesar
Flower Arranging. Alice Virden	Cornbread. Lucinda Cusic	The Hunt	Traditional Blues. Big Lucky & His Mighty Men of Sound	Easter Rock Winnsboro Easter Rock Ensemble
Quilting. Martha Skelton	Black-Eyed Pea Grits Bread. Dinni Clark	Willing to Take a Risk	Soul Blues. Sweet Miss Coffy & The Mississippi Burn'in Blues Band	Oratory Skills
Mah-Jong. The Chow Family	Barbecue Sauce. Lawrence Craig	Tall Tales from the Camp	Rockabilly. Kenny Bill Stinson & The Ark-La- Mystics	Gospel. Myles Family
Basket Making. Tampa Wilson	Sweet Potato Pie Lucinda Cusic	Cotton: Then & Now	Traditional Blues. Big Lucky & His Mighty Men of Sound	Gospel: Revelators
Growing Up in the Delta	Chinese Food	Living Off the Land	Soul Blues. Sweet Miss Coffy & The Mississippi Burn'in Blues Band	Worship Craft. Altar Cloth Making
Quilting Henretta Taylor	Cheese Straws & Jezebel Sauce. Dinni Clark	Working the Water	Dixieland Jazz:	Gospel. Myles Family
A Walk in the Garden	Barbecue Sauce. Lawrence Craig	Hunting Calls	Root Blues. Eddie Cusic	Gospel Revelators

## SACRED SOUNDS

	Performance Stage	Narrative Stage
<b>11:00</b>		
<b>12:00</b>	The Opening Ceremony takes place on the Sacred Sounds Performance Stage.	
<b>1:00</b>	Quartet-style Gospel Seven Sons	Native American Music & Native American Beliefs (Karuk)
	Jerusalemite Religious Chant Group	Sacred Sounds of the Shinto Faith
<b>2:00</b>	South African A Cappella Natal '77	Gospel Quartet Singing, Perspectives on Faith
	Native American Story Songs. Nancy Richardson	Muslim Voices
<b>3:00</b>	Japanese Ritual Music Hawai'i Gagaku Kenkyukai	Sacred & Social Identities in South Africa
	Southeastern Kentucky Gospel Old Regular Baptists	Jewish Traditions: Sacred & Secular
<b>4:00</b>	South African Dance Worship.	Hip Hop & Christian Ministry
	International Christian Church	Faith & Song
<b>5:00</b>	Jewish Traditions from Jerusalem	
	Shiru Shir	South African Traditions & Christianity
	Hip Hop Brothers Inc + da Lord	






Sign language interpreters  
will be available for  
selected programs.  
Programs that will be  
interpreted are marked  
with the symbol .



# SCHEDULE

## THURSDAY, JUNE 26

### AFRICAN IMMIGRANT FOLKLIFE

	<i>Community Talk</i>	<i>Craft &amp; Enterprise</i>	<i>Foodways &amp; Homelife</i>	<i>Palaver Place Community Social Hall</i>	<i>Teaching &amp; Learning Culture</i>	<i>Music &amp; Dance</i>
<b>11:00</b>						
<b>12:00</b>	Immigration Stories	Ongoing demonstra- tions and dis- plays of African immigrant businesses and crafts- people: African Braids and Accents (Senegalese hair-braiding traditions); Ghigi's African Fashions (Nigerian traditional dressmaking and clothing importers); Merkato Market (Ethiopian store); Mamo Tessema (Ethiopian Region potter, Oromo)	Ethiopian Cooking: Lakech Jezequel 	Malian Ngom Music: Cheikh Amala Diabate	Ghanaian Music & Dance: Asante Kotoko	Ethiopian Traditional Music and Dance: The Nile Ethiopian Ensemble
	African Immigrant Musical Traditions					
<b>1:00</b>	Old Traditions in New Settings 		Kenyan Cooking: Jane Musonye	Somali Oud Music: Hassan Gure	Amharic Language & Culture: Ethiopian Community Center	Cameroonian Music and Dance: Kengmo & Nzempiah
	Passing on Culture		Ethiopian Cooking: Lakech Jezequel	Hausa Music & Dance: Zumunta	Ugandan Storytelling: Nomu Luanga	Moroccan Shaabi and Rai The Kasbah Band
<b>2:00</b>						
	Work Experience Stories		Ethiopian Coffee Ceremony Center for Ethiopian Arts & Culture 	Malian Ngom Music: Cheikh Amala Diabate	Ghanaian Music & Dance: Asante Kotoko	Ethiopian Traditional Music and Dance: The Nile Ethiopian Ensemble
<b>3:00</b>						
	Connections to Home		Kenyan Cooking: Jane Musonye	Mural Painting African Immigrant Artists	Cameroonian Music & Dance: Kengmo	Ugandan Traditional Music and Dance: Kyaga
<b>4:00</b>	Culture Bridging 					
			Ghanaian Cooking: Veronica Abu	Hausa Music & Dance: Zumunta	Amharic Language & Culture: Ethiopian Community Center	Moroccan Shaabi and Rai The Kasbah Band
<b>5:00</b>	Old Traditions in New Settings					
	Immigration Stories			Somali Oud Music: Hassan Gure 	African Immigrants on the Internet	Malian Traditional Music: Cheikh Diabate

**5:30-  
7:00**

Kenny Bill  
Stinson



*Dance Party*






*African Immigrant  
Stage*



# SCHEDULE

*Schedules are subject to change.  
Check signs in each program area  
for specific information.*

## MISSISSIPPI DELTA

<i>Home Narrative</i>	<i>Delta Kitchen</i>	<i>Camp Narrative</i>	<i>Delta Dance Hall</i>	<i>Worship Stage</i>
Passing It On	Chinese Food Gene Chinn	Making Nets & Traps 	Dixieland Jazz: Tim Laughlin's New Orleans Dixieland Jazz Band	Gospel: Myles Family
Men, Women & the Blues	Catfish. Dinni Clark	Traditional Blues	Root Blues: Eddie Cusic	Women in the Church
Mah-Jong The Chow Family 	Hot Tamales Irma Rodriguez	Camp Cooking	Traditional Blues Big Lucky & His Mighty Men of Sound	Lined-Out Hymns with Penola Caesar
Flower Arranging. Alice Virden	The Perfect Barbecue Lawrence Craig & Albert Kelly	Willing to Take a Risk	Soul Blues. Sweet Miss Coffy & The Mississippi Burnin Blues Band	Easter Rock. Winnsboro Easter Rock Ensemble
Quilting. Henretta Taylor	Chinese Food Sally Chow	Catfish Raised, Caught, Prepared 	Kenny Bill Stinson & The Ark-La-Mystics with Henry & Tookie	Gospel. Revelators
Tatting Edna White	Collard Greens Lucinda Cusic	The Flood of 1927	Dixieland Jazz	Oratory Skills
Quilting Martha Skelton	Scampi over Cheese Grits Dinni Clark 	Decoys, Blinds & Calls	Root Blues. Eddie Cusic	Lined-Out Hymns with Penola Caesar
Basket Making Tampa Wilson	Tortillas Irma Rodriguez	Cotton. From Seed to Gin	Traditional Blues Big Lucky & His Mighty Men of Sound	Easter Rock: Winnsboro Easter Rock Ensemble
A Walk in the Garden 	Barbecue Sauce Lawrence Craig	Hunting Calls	Soul Blues Sweet Miss Coffy & The Mississippi Burnin Blues Band	Oratory Skills
				Gospel Revelators


## SACRED SOUNDS

	<i>Performance Stage</i>	<i>Narrative Stage</i>
<b>11:00</b>	South African A Cappella Natal '77	Sacred Sounds of the Shunto Faith 
<b>12:00</b>	Muslim Praise Song. Jerusalemite Religious Chant Group	Hip Hop & Christian Ministry
<b>1:00</b>	Japanese Ritual Music Hawai'i Gagaku Kenkyukai	Jewish Traditions: Sacred & Secular 
<b>2:00</b>	Hip Hop. Brothers Inc. + da Lord	Sacred & Social Identities in South Africa 
<b>3:00</b>	Jewish Traditions from Jerusalem. Shiru Shir	Faith & Song
	South African Dance Worship International Christian Church	Gospel Quartet Singing Perspectives on Faith 
<b>4:00</b>	Southeastern Kentucky Gospel Old Regular Baptists	Muslim Voices
	Quartet-style Gospel Seven Sons 	Music & Native American Beliefs (Karuk)
<b>5:00</b>	Native American Story Songs Nancy Richardson	South African Traditions & Christianity

*Evening Concert*  
*Sacred Sounds Stage*

Jewish Chanting  
Shiru Shir  
Murduloh Choral Groups   
Revelators

**7:00–  
9:00**

*Sign language interpreters  
will be available for  
selected programs.  
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
# SCHEDULE

## FRIDAY, JUNE 27

### AFRICAN IMMIGRANT FOLKLIFE

	<i>Community Talk</i>	<i>Craft &amp; Enterprise</i>	<i>Foodways &amp; Homelife</i>	<i>Palaver Place Community Social Hall</i>	<i>Teaching &amp; Learning Culture</i>	<i>Music &amp; Dance</i>
<b>11:00</b>						
<b>12:00</b>	Connections to Home	Ongoing demonstrations and displays of African immigrant businesses and crafts-people: African Braids and Accents (Senegalese hair-braiding traditions); Gihgi's African Fashions (Nigerian traditional dressmaking and clothing importers); Simba Records (Kenyan-owned African record store); Namori Keita (Malian woodcarving)	Kenyan Cooking: Jane Musonye 	Vera Oye Yaa-Anna & Joe Ngwa	Swahili Language & Storytelling: Mkamburi Lyabaya	Nigerian Juju and Highlife: African Music Ambassadors
	Immigration Stories		West African Cooking: Mimi Green	Nigerian (Yoruba) Praise Poetry: Abiodun Adepoju	African Geography Lesson	Highlife: Bakula
<b>1:00</b>	Passing on Culture 		Egyptian Foods/Meat Cutting Demonstration: Mahmoud Tutu	Vera Oye Yaa-Anna & Joe Ngwa	Kenyan Storytelling: Jane Musonye	Ugandan Traditional Music & Dance: Kyaga
<b>2:00</b>	African Immigrant Musical Traditions		Kenyan Cooking/Garden Talk: Jane Musonye & Mumia Shimaka Mbasu	Mural Painting: African Immigrant Artists 	African Immigrant Children's Games	Nigerian Juju and Highlife: African Music Ambassadors
<b>3:00</b>	Old Traditions in New Settings		West African Cooking: Mimi Green	Ugandan Music & Dance: Kyaga	Swahili Language & Storytelling: Mkamburi Lyabaya	Soukous, Yoruba Gospel, Highlife: Kokomos
<b>4:00</b>	Work Experience Stories		Egyptian Foods/Meat Cutting Demonstration: Mahmoud Tutu 	African Dress in Washington, D.C.	Woodcarving Workshop: Namori Keita	Highlife: Bakula
	Culture Bridging					
<b>5:00</b>	Immigration Stories					
	Connections to Home			Mural Painting: African Immigrant Artists	African Immigrants on the Internet	Ewi Praise Poetry: Abiodun Adepoju

**5:30–  
7:00**

Nigerian Juju & Highlife:  
  
Kokomos






**Dance Party**  
African Immigrant Stage



# SCHEDULE

Schedules are subject to change.  
Check signs in each program area  
for specific information.


## MISSISSIPPI DELTA

Home Narrative	Delta Kitchen	Camp Narrative	Delta Dance Hall	Worship Stage
Quilting. Martha Skelton	Cobbler Dinni Clark 	Tall Tales from the Camp	Root Blues. Eddie Cusic	Oratory Skills
Passing It On	Hot Tamales. Irma Rodriguez	Willing to Take a Risk	Traditional Blues: Big Lucky & His Mighty Men of Sound	Gospel. Myles Family
Basket Making Tampa Wilson 	Sweet Potato Pie Lucinda Cusic	Hunting & Fishing Subsistence & Sport	Soul Blues: Sweet Miss Coffy & The Mississippi Burn'in Blues Band	Gospel Revelators
Flower Arranging: Alice Virden	Baking: Sally Chow	Cotton: Then & Now	Rockabilly: Kenny Bill Stinson & The Ark-La-Mystics	Lined-Out Hymns with Penola Caesar  Easter Rock:
What the Blues Can Tell You	Chocolate Pie: Lawrence Craig	Camp Cooking 	Dixieland Jazz: Tim Laughlin's New Orleans Dixieland Jazz Band	Winnsboro Easter Rock Ensemble
Quilting. Henretta Taylor	Cheese Straws & Jezebel Sauce Dinni Clark	Working the Water	Rockabilly: Kenny Bill Stinson & The Ark-La-Mystics	Worship Craft Jewish Crafts
Mah-Jong. The Chow Family	Collard Greens. Lucinda Cusic 	Hunting Calls	Soul Blues. Sweet Miss Coffy & The Mississippi Burn'in Blues Band	Gospel Myles Family
Tattooing: Edna White	Hot Tamales Irma Rodriguez 	Working the Land	Traditional Blues: Big Lucky & His Mighty Men of Sound	Women in the Church
A Walk in the Garden	Barbecue: Lawrence Craig	Traditional Blues	Root Blues: Eddie Cusic	Oratory Skills & Lined-Out Hymns


## SACRED SOUNDS

	Performance Stage	Narrative Stage
<b>11:00</b>	Southeastern Kentucky Gospel  Old Regular Baptists 	Music & Native American Beliefs (Karuk)
<b>12:00</b>	South African Dance Worship:  International Christian Church	Muslim Voices 
<b>1:00</b>	Native American Story Songs.  Nancy Richardson	Gospel Quartet Singing. Perspectives on Faith
<b>2:00</b>	Jewish Traditions from Jerusalem.  Shiru Shir 	Faith & Song
<b>3:00</b>	Japanese Ritual Music:  Hawai'i Gagaku Kenkyukai	Sacred & Social Identities in South Africa
<b>4:00</b>	Quartet-style Gospel:  Seven Sons 	Jewish Traditions: Sacred & Secular
<b>5:00</b>	Muslim Praise Song:  Jerusalemite Religious Chant Group	Hip Hop & Christian Ministry
	South African A Cappella  Natal '77	Sacred Sounds of the Shinto Faith 
	Hip Hop. Brothers Inc 4 da Lord	South African Traditions & Christianity

*Evening Concert*  
*Sacred Sounds Stage*

Church of the Living  
God, International  
Christian Church 

**7:00–  
9:00**




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# SCHEDULE

## SATURDAY, JUNE 28

### AFRICAN IMMIGRANT FOLKLIFE






	<i>Community Talk</i>	<i>Craft &amp; Enterprise</i>	<i>Foodways &amp; Homelife</i>	<i>Palaver Place Community Social Hall</i>	<i>Teaching &amp; Learning Culture</i>	<i>Music &amp; Dance</i>
<b>11:00</b>						
<b>12:00</b>	Culture Bridging	Ongoing demonstrations and displays of African immigrant businesses and crafts-people: Touba Braiding Center (Senegalese hair-braiding traditions); Sarpong/Osei Enterprises (Ghanaian traditional dressmaking and clothing importers); Tutu Market and Butcher (Egyptian-owned store and butcher shop); Rome Yitbarek (Ethiopian Region basket maker, Oromo)	Lesotho Cooking:  Selloane Makhetha	Braai:  South African Dance	Nigerian Saturday School Activities:	Central African Soukous:  Liziba
	Immigration Stories		 South African Cooking:  Cecelia Vilakazi	Braai:  Lesotho Women's Music & Dance	Egbe Isokan Yoruba	South African Township Music:  Mahala & Chris Ntaka
<b>1:00</b>	Old Traditions in New Settings					
<b>2:00</b>	Connections to Home		Lesotho Cooking/ Braai Preparations:  Selloane Makhetha	Braai:  Southern African Children's Games	African Greetings Workshop	Traditional Nigerian Dance & Drumming:  Akwa Ibom
						
<b>3:00</b>	Work Experience Stories		South African Cooking/ Braai Presentation:  Cecelia Vilakazi	Ethiopian Wedding Activities:  Center for Ethiopian Arts & Culture	Nigerian Saturday School Activities:	Central African Soukous:  Liziba
	Passing On Culture				Egbe Isokan Yoruba	Traditional Nigerian Dance & Drumming:  Akwa Ibom
<b>4:00</b>	Immigration Stories		Ethiopian Wedding Foods & Presentation:  Lakech Jezequel			
						
<b>5:00</b>	African Immigrant Musical Traditions		Ethiopian Coffee Ceremony:  Center for Ethiopian Arts & Culture		African Children's Games	South African Township Music:  Mahala & Chris Ntaka
	Old Traditions in New Settings				African Immigrants on the Internet	Ethiopian Music: The Nile Ethiopian Ensemble
						



# SCHEDULE

*Schedules are subject to change.  
Check signs in each program area  
for specific information.*

## MISSISSIPPI DELTA

<i>Home Narrative</i>	<i>Delta Kitchen</i>	<i>Camp Narrative</i>	<i>Delta Dance Hall</i>	<i>Worship Stage</i>
Flower Arranging: Alice Virden 	Catfish: Dinni Clark	Cotton: From Seed to Gin	Soul Blues: Sweet Miss Coffy & The Mississippi Burn'in Blues Band	Lined-Out Hymns with Penola Caesar Easter Rock
Mah-Jong: The Chow Family	Hot Tamales: Irma Rodriguez	Hunting & Fishing: Subsistence & Sport	Rockabilly: Kenny Bill Stinson & The Ark-La-Mystics	Winsboro Easter Rock Ensemble
Quilting: Henrietta Taylor	Sauces: Barbecue, Jezebel & Pepper	Working the Water 	Traditional Blues: Big Lucky & His Mighty Men of Sound	Gospel: Myles Family
Barbecue Pits: Albert Kelly	Baking: Sally Chow	Tall Tales from the Camp	Root Blues: Eddie Cusic	Gospel: Revelators
Quilting: Martha Skelton	Collard Greens: Lucinda Cusic	Willing to Take a Risk	Dixieland Jazz: Tim Laughlin's New Orleans Dixieland Jazz Band	Oratory Skills 
The Flood of 1927	Chinese Food: Gene Chinn	Camp Cooking	Soul Blues: Sweet Miss Coffy & The Mississippi Burn'in Blues Band	Music as Worship
Basket Making: Tampa Wilson	Tortillas: Irma Rodriguez	Decoys, Blinds & Calls 	Rockabilly: Kenny Bill Stinson & The Ark-La-Mystics	Gospel: Myles Family
Tatting: Edna White	From Garden to Kitchen: Alice Virden	Reading the River	Dixieland Jazz: Traditional Blues:	Gospel: Revelators
Herbs: Healing & Flavoring 	Barbecue Sauce: Lawrence Craig	Traditional Blues	Big Lucky & His Mighty Men of Sound	Oratory Skills

## SACRED SOUNDS

<i>11:00</i>	<i>Performance Stage</i>	<i>Narrative Stage</i>
	Hip Hop: Brothers Inc. 4 da Lord 	Muslim Voices
<b>12:00</b>	Japanese Ritual Music: Hawai'i Gagaku Kenkyukai	Sacred & Social Identities in South Africa
<b>1:00</b>	South African Dance Worship: International Christian Church 	Hip Hop & Christian Ministry
<b>2:00</b>	Jerusalemite Religious Chant Group	Music & Native American Beliefs (Karuk) 
<b>3:00</b>	Southeastern Kentucky Gospel: Old Regular Baptists	Gospel Quartet Singing Perspectives on Faith 
<b>4:00</b>	Native American Story Songs: Nancy Richardson	South African Traditions & Christianity
	Quartet-style Gospel: Seven Sons 	Faith & Song
<b>5:00</b>	South African A Cappella: Natal '77	Sacred Sounds of the Shinto Faith 


*Evening Concert*

*Delta Stage*

The Rinzler Concert  
(see p. 91)



**5:30–  
9:00**

*Sign language interpreters  
will be available for  
selected programs.  
Programs that will be  
interpreted are marked  
with the symbol .*



# SCHEDULE

## SUNDAY, JUNE 29

### AFRICAN IMMIGRANT FOLKLIFE

	<i>Community Talk</i>	<i>Craft &amp; Enterprise</i>	<i>Foodways &amp; Homelife</i>	<i>Palaver Place Community Social Hall</i>	<i>Teaching &amp; Learning Culture</i>	<i>Music &amp; Dance</i>
<b>11:00</b>						
<b>12:00</b>	Work Experience Stories	Ongoing demonstra- tions and dis- plays of African immigrant businesses and crafts- people: Touba Braiding Center (Senegalese hair-braiding traditions); Dame Gueye (Senegalese glass painter); Omar Nyang (Senegalese tailor)	Southern Senegalese Cooking:  Liberata Ehimba 	Malian Ngoni Music:  Cheikh Amala Diabaté	Wolof Language Lessons	African Jazz:  Djimo Kouyate & Mamaya
<b>1:00</b>	Old Traditions in New Settings		Northern Senegalese Cooking:  Basse Dieng	African Dress in Washington, D.C.	Senegambian Dance Lessons:  Kankouran	Ghanaian Highlife:  Pa Alex & Generations
	Passing on Culture					
<b>2:00</b>	Connections to Home		Cape Verdean Cooking:  Maria Augusta Faria Lima 	Nigerian Masquerade:  Rivers State Forum	North African Art Workshop:  Nabil Makar	Senegalese Dance & Drumming:  Kankouran
	Immigration Stories		Southern Senegalese Cooking:  Liberata Ehimba		Children's Games	African Jazz:  Djimo Kouyate & Mamaya
<b>3:00</b>	Promoting Traditional Arts 		Northern Senegalese Cooking & Presentation:  Basse Dieng	Sabar - Traditional Senegambian Social Dance:  Senegambian Community	North African Art Workshop:  Nabil Makar	Malian Ngoni Music:  Cheikh Diabaté
<b>4:00</b>	Culture Bridging					Nigerian Masquerade:  Rivers State Forum
	Old Traditions in New Settings		Cape Verdean Cooking:  Maria Augusta Faria Lima		African Geography 	Ghanaian Highlife:  Pa Alex and Generations
<b>5:00</b>	African Immigrant Musical Traditions				African Immigrants on the Internet	



# SCHEDULE

Schedules are subject to change.  
Check signs in each program area  
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## MISSISSIPPI DELTA


## SACRED SOUNDS

Home Narrative	Delta Kitchen	Camp Narrative	Delta Dance Hall	Worship Stage		Performance Stage	Narrative Stage
Tattooing: Edna White	Sweet Potato Pie: Lucinda Cusic	Hunting Stories	Dixieland Jazz: Tim Laughlin's New Orleans Dixieland Jazz Band	Camp Meeting	11:00	South African Dance Worship: International Christian Church	Faith & Song
Flower Arranging: Alice Virden	Las Bueelos: Irma Rodriguez	Willing to Take a Risk	Root Blues: Eddie Cusic	Gospel: Revelators	12:00	Jewish Traditions from Jerusalem: Shiru Shir	Music & Native American Beliefs (Karuk)
Mah-Jong: The Chow Family	Barbecue Sauce: Lawrence Craig	Fishing Stories	Traditional Blues: Big Lucky & His Mighty Men of Sound	Gospel: Myles Family	1:00	Southeastern Kentucky Gospel: Old Regular Baptists	Sacred & Social Identities in South Africa
Quilting: Martha Skelton	Cobbler: Dinni Clark	Working the Land	Rockabilly: Kenny Bill Stinson & The Ark-La-Mystics	Lined-Out Hymns with Penola Caesar	2:00	Japanese Ritual Music: Hawai'i Gagaku Kenkyukai	Jewish Traditions: Sacred & Secular
Then & Now	Chinese Food: Gene Chinn	Cotton: Then & Now	Soul Blues: Sweet Miss Coffy & The Mississippi Burn'in Blues Band	Winnsboro Easter Rock Ensemble	3:00	South African A Cappella: Natal '77	Hip Hop & Christian Ministry
Basket Making: Tampa Wilson	Baking: Sally Chow	Working the Water	Dixieland Jazz	Oratory Skills	4:00	Muslim Praise Song: Jerusalemite Religious Chant Group	South African Traditions & Christianity
Quilting: Henretta Taylor	Tortillas: Irma Rodriguez	Tall Tales from the Camp	Root Blues: Eddie Cusic	Worship Craft: Baptismal Gowns	5:00	Hip Hop: Brothers Inc. 4 da Lord	Sacred Sounds of the Shinto Faith
Passing It On	Broccoli & Cheese Grits Bread: Dinni Clark	Delta Crops: Cotton & Catfish	Traditional Blues: Henry & Tookie	Gospel: Myles Family		Quartet-style Gospel: Seven Sons	Muslim Voices
A Walk in the Garden	Hot Tamales: Irma Rodriguez	Hunting Calls	Rockabilly: Kenny Bill Stinson & The Ark-La-Mystics	Gospel: Revelators		Native American Story Songs: Nancy Richardson	Gospel Quartet Singing: Perspectives on Faith

*Blues Evening*  
*Delta Stage*

Traditional Blues:  
Big Lucky & His  
Mighty Men of  
Sound  
Soul Blues:  
Sweet Miss Coffy  
& The Mississippi  
Burn'in Blues  
Band  
Rhythm & Blues:  
Rufus Thomas

**5:30–  
9:00**





Sign language interpreters  
will be available for  
selected programs.  
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# SCHEDULE

## WEDNESDAY, JULY 2

### AFRICAN IMMIGRANT FOLKLIFE

	<i>Community Talk</i>	<i>Craft &amp; Enterprise</i>	<i>Foodways &amp; Homelife</i>	<i>Palaver Place Community Social Hall</i>	<i>Teaching &amp; Learning Culture</i>	<i>Music &amp; Dance</i>
<b>11:00</b>						
<b>12:00</b>	Passing on Culture	Ongoing demonstrations and displays of African immigrant businesses and craftspeople: traditional hair braiding; traditional dressmaking/ tailoring/ African clothing store; Addisu Gebeya (Ethiopian store); Cameroonian hat maker	Somali Cooking: Qamar Dahir & Ibado Hirnoge	Put-Stop: Sierra Leonean Engagement Party 	Somali Children's Games & Greetings. Somali Saturday School	Eritrean Traditional Music: Eritrean Cultural & Civic Center
	Connections to Home		Lesotho Cooking. Nomvula Cook		Senegambian Dance Workshop Kankouran	Traditional Somali Music Somali Ensemble
<b>1:00</b>	Immigration Stories					
<b>2:00</b>	Culture Bridging		Nigerian Cooking. Iffy Tagbo-Ogbuagu	Mural Painting: African Immigrant Artists	Somali Children's Games. Somali Saturday School	Malian Ngom Music: Cheikh Diabaté
						Eritrean Traditional Music
<b>3:00</b>	Old Traditions in New Settings 		Somali Cooking. Ibado Hirnoge & Qamar Dahir	Buraanbur Somali Women's Poetry & Dance	Sierra Leonean Children's Activities Chidimma Agwu-Jones	Eritrean Cultural & Civic Center
	African Immigrant Musical Traditions					Nigerian Juju and Highlife: African Music Ambassadors
<b>4:00</b>	Connections to Home		Lesotho Cooking: Nomvula Cook 		Ghanaian (Akan) Children's Games	Senegalese Dance & Drumming: Kankouran
	Immigrant Stories 		Nigerian Cooking/ Presentation of Meal: Iffy Tagbo-Ogbuagu	Malian Ngom Music: Cheikh Amala Diabaté	Sierra Leonean Dress & Adornment. Harnet Tucker	Traditional Somali Music Somali Ensemble
<b>5:00</b>	African Immigrant Musical Traditions				African Immigrants on the Internet	













# SCHEDULE

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## MISSISSIPPI DELTA


## SACRED SOUNDS

<i>Home Narrative</i>	<i>Delta Kitchen</i>	<i>Camp Narrative</i>	<i>Delta Dance Hall</i>	<i>Worship Stage</i>		<i>Performance Stage</i>	<i>Narrative Stage</i>
Tatting. Edna White 	Hot Tamales. Jewel McCain	Willing to Take a Risk	Root Blues: Eddie Cusic	Lined-Out Hymns with Penola Caesar Easter Rock	<b>11:00</b>	Muslim Praise Song. Jerusalemite Religious Chant Group 	Orisha Traditions
Quilting. Henrietta Taylor	Baking Sally Chow	Hunting Calls	Traditional Blues. Big Lucky & His Mighty Men of Sound	Winnsboro Easter Rock Ensemble	<b>12:00</b>	Sweet Honey In The Rock 	Sacred Sounds of the Shinto Faith
Basket Making Tampa Wilson 	Cheese Straws & Jezebel Sauce. Dinni Clark	Working the Water	Dixieland Jazz: Tim Laughlin's New Orleans Dixieland Jazz Band	Gospel: Myles Family	<b>1:00</b>	Orisha Sacred Music. Omo 'Nagó	Sacred Sounds & Social Struggles
Flower Arranging. George Fisher	The Perfect Barbecue. Gilroy Chow & Lawrence Craig	Camp Cooking	Soul Blues: Sweet Miss Coffy & The Mississippi Burn'in Blues Band 	Oratory Skills	<b>2:00</b>	Jewish Traditions from Jerusalem: Shiru Shir 	Muslim Voices
Mah-Jong. The Chow Family	Collard Greens. Lucinda Cusic	Working the Land	Rockabilly: Kenny Bill Stinson & The Ark-La-Mystics	Music as Worship		South African A Cappella. Natal '77	South African Traditions & Christianity
Quilting: Martha Skelton 	Pralines. Jewel McCain	Decoys, Blinds & Calls	Dixieland Jazz: Tim Laughlin's New Orleans Dixieland Jazz Band	Gospel: The Gerald Lewis Singers	<b>3:00</b>	Japanese Ritual Music: Hawai'i Gagaku Kenkyukai	Jewish Traditions: Sacred & Secular
Barbecue Pits. Albert Kelly	Catfish Dinni Clark	Cotton: Then & Now	Root Blues: Eddie Cusic	Gospel: Myles Family	<b>4:00</b>	South African Dance Worship International Christian Church 	Catholicism & Black Gospel Song
Growing Up in the Delta	Combread Lucinda Cusic	Tall Tales from the Camp	Soul Blues: Sweet Miss Coffy & The Mississippi Burn'in Blues Band	Easter Rock Winnsboro Easter Rock Ensemble 	<b>5:00</b>	St. Augustine Gospel Choir 	Sacred & Social Identities in South Africa
A Walk in the Garden	Barbecue Sauce Lawrence Craig	Making Nets & Traps	Rockabilly: Kenny Bill Stinson & the Ark-La-Mystics	Gospel: The Gerald Lewis Singers			

*Dance Party*  
*Delta Stage*


*Evening Concert*  
*Delta Stage*

Nigerian Juju & Highlife.  
African Music Ambassadors 

Omo 'Nagó  
Big Lucky & His Mighty Men of Sound 

**5:30–  
7:00**

**7:00–  
9:00**




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
# SCHEDULE

## THURSDAY, JULY 3

### AFRICAN IMMIGRANT FOLKLIFE

	<i>Community Talk</i>	<i>Craft &amp; Enterprise</i>	<i>Foodways &amp; Homelife</i>	<i>Palaver Place Community Social Hall</i>	<i>Teaching &amp; Learning Culture</i>	<i>Music &amp; Dance</i>
<b>11:00</b>						
<b>12:00</b>	Old Traditions in New Settings	Ongoing demonstra- tions and dis- plays of African immigrant businesses and crafts- people: Ann Olumba (Nigerian hair-braiding traditions); Fatou Thiam (traditional dressmaker); Oyingbo Market (Nigerian- owned store); Patrick Owusu- Afriyie (Ghanaian shoemaking and repair)	Lesotho Cooking: Nomvula Cook	Mural Painting: African Immigrant Artists	Somali Games & Greetings: Somali Saturday School 	Nigerian Juju and Highlife: African Music Ambassadors
	Work Experience Stories					
<b>1:00</b>	Passing on Culture		Northern Sudanese Cooking: Zeinab Hag El Safi	Street Theater: Theater of the Diaspora	Senegalese Language & Culture: Aristides Pereira	Soboso - Swahili Pop: Simba Wanyika
<b>2:00</b>	Immigration Stories 		Eritrean Cooking: Eritrean Cultural & Civic Center	Northern Sudanese Healing Ceremony	Ghanaian Music & Dance: Asante Kotoko	Moroccan Shaabi and Rai: The Kasbah Band
<b>3:00</b>	Culture Bridging		Lesotho Cooking: Nomvula Cook		Somali Games & Greetings: Somali Saturday School	Senegambian Dance & Drumming: Memory of African Culture
	African Immigrant Musical Traditions					
<b>4:00</b>	Connections to Home		Northern Sudanese Cooking: Zeinab Hag El Safi	Street Theater: Theater of the Diaspora 	Northern Sudanese Children's Activities	Nigerian Juju and Highlife: African Music Ambassadors
<b>5:00</b>	Passing on Culture		Eritrean Cooking: Eritrean Cultural & Civic Center	Northern Sudanese Community Activities	Ghanaian Music & Dance: Asante Kotoko	Moroccan Shaabi and Rai: The Kasbah Band
	Immigration Stories				African Immigrants on the Internet	Somali Oud: Hassan Gure

**5:30-  
7:00**

Rockabilly   
Kenny Bill  
Stinson & the  
Ark-La-Mystics

**Dance Party**  
African Immigrant  
Stage

**7:00-  
9:00**

Dance &  
Drumming:  
Memory of  
African Culture  
Natal '77 

**Evening Concert**  
African Immigrant  
Stage















# SCHEDULE

Schedules are subject to change.  
Check signs in each program area  
for specific information.

## MISSISSIPPI DELTA

## SACRED SOUNDS

<i>Home Narrative</i>	<i>Delta Kitchen</i>	<i>Camp Narrative</i>	<i>Delta Dance Hall</i>	<i>Worship Stage</i>		<i>Performance Stage</i>	<i>Narrative Stage</i>
Tatting. Edna White	Baking Sally Chow	Delta Crops: Cotton & Catfish 	Traditional Blues. Big Lucky Carter & His Mighty Men of Sound	Gospel. Myles Family	11:00	South African Dance Worship International Christian Church	Jewish Traditions: Sacred & Secular 
Basket Making Tampa Wilson	Chocolate Caramel Tart. Dinni Clark	Decoys, Blinds & Calls	Dixieland Jazz: Tim Laughlin's New Orleans Dixieland Jazz Band	Gospel: The Gerald Lewis Singers	12:00	Japanese Ritual Music: Hawai'i Gagaku Kenkyukai 	Sacred Sounds & Social Struggles
Tamales & Egg Rolls in the Delta	Cornbread Lucinda Cusic	The Flood of 1927 	Root Blues: Eddie Cusic	Oratory Skills	1:00	Sweet Honey In The Rock 	South African Traditions & Christianity
Quilting Martha Skelton	Barbecue Sauce Lawrence Craig	Tall Tales from the Camp	Soul Blues: Sweet Miss Coffy & The Mississippi Burn'in Blues Band	Lined-Out Hymns with Peniola Caesar Easter Rock.	2:00	Jewish Traditions from Jerusalem: Shiru Shir 	Sacred Sounds of the Shinto Faith
Barbecue Pits. Albert Kelly 	Hot Tamales: Jewel McCain	Working the Land	Traditional Blues: Henry & Tookie	Winnsboro Easter Rock Ensemble Worship Craft.	3:00	Orisha Sacred Music. Omo 'Nagô	Sacred & Social Identities in South Africa
Mah-Jong: The Chow Family	Sweet Potato Pie: Lucinda Cusic	Camp Cooking	Traditional Blues. Big Lucky & His Mighty Men of Sound	Christening Gown Making Gospel: The Gerald Lewis Singers 	4:00	Buddhist Devotional Chant  Monks of Wat Thai	Muslim Voices
Flower Arranging. Georgie Fisher	Cobbler. Dinni Clark	Cotton Then & Now	Dixieland Jazz: Tim Laughlin's New Orleans Dixieland Jazz Band	Gospel: Myles Family 	5:00	South African A Cappella Natal '77	Orisha Traditions
Quilting: Henretta Taylor	Chinese Food Gilroy Chow	Making Nets & Traps	Root Blues: Eddie Cusic	Easter Rock: Winnsboro Easter Rock Ensemble		St. Augustine Gospel Choir	Buddhism in America 
The Flood of 1927	Barbecue Sauce: Lawrence Craig	Willing to Take a Risk	Soul Blues: Sweet Miss Coffy & The Mississippi Burn'in Blues Band			Muslim Praise Song: Jerusalemite Religious Chant Group	Catholicism & Black Gospel Song



Sign language interpreters  
will be available for  
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# SCHEDULE

## FRIDAY, JULY 4

### AFRICAN IMMIGRANT FOLKLIFE







	Community Talk	Craft & Enterprise	Foodways & Homelife	Palaver Place Community Social Hall	Teaching & Learning Culture	Music & Dance
11:00						
12:00	Connections to Home	Ongoing demonstrations and displays of African immigrant businesses and craftspeople: Ann Olumba (Nigerian hair-braiding traditions); Levirop's Lagos Fashions 'n Fabrics (Nigerian fabric and clothing importers); Oyingbo Market (Nigerian-owned store)	Nigerian (Yoruba) Cooking: Lola Dawodu 	Street Theater: Theater of the Diaspora	Nigerian (Yoruba) Cultural Lessons: Egbe Isokan Yoruba	Highlife and Yoruba Gospel: Kokomos
	Work Experience Stories		Egyptian Cooking: Chef Osama El-Sayed	Cross Rivers State Celebratory Dance: Akwa Ibom Association	African Clothing & Adornment	Ewu Praise Poetry: Abiodun Adepoju
1:00	Promoting Traditional Arts					Traditional North African Music: North African Ensemble
	2:00		Culture Bridging 			
3:00			African Immigrant Musical Traditions 	Nigerian (Yoruba) Cooking: Lola Dawodu	Nigerian (Yoruba) Masquerade: Egbe Isokan Yoruba	Theater Workshop: Street Theater
	Old Traditions in New Settings		Egyptian Cooking: Chef Osama El-Sayed 			African Immigrant Children's Games
4:00	Immigration Stories		Nigerian (Yoruba) Praise Poetry: Abiodun Adepoju 	West African Cooking: Mimi Green	Nigerian (Cross River) Music & Dance: Akwa Ibom	Traditional North African Music: North African Ensemble
	Connections to Home					
5:00	African Immigrant Musical Traditions					African Immigrants on the Internet



# SCHEDULE

Schedules are subject to change.  
Check signs in each program area  
for specific information.

## MISSISSIPPI DELTA

Home Narrative	Delta Kitchen	Camp Narrative	Delta Dance Hall	Worship Stage
Basket Making Tampa Wilson	Hot Tamales Jewel McCain	The Cotton Industry 	Traditional Blues: Big Lucky & His Mighty Men of Sound	Lined-Out Hymns with Penola Caesar Easter Rock.
Herbs: Healing & Flavoring	The Perfect Barbecue Lawrence Craig, Galroy Chow & Albert Kelly	Hunting Calls	Soul Blues: Sweet Miss Coffy & The Mississippi Burn'in Blues Band	Winnboro Easter Rock Ensemble Women in the Church 
Quilting: Henretta Taylor	Collard Greens: Lucinda Cusic	Fishing Stories	Dixieland Jazz: Tim Laughlin's New Orleans Dixieland Jazz Band	Gospel The Gerald Lewis Singers
Mah-Jong The Chow Family	Scampi over Cheese Grnts. Dinni Clark	Hunting & Fishing: Subsistence & Sport 	Root Blues: Eddie Cusic	Gospel Myles Family
Tatting: Edna White	Baking: Sally Chow	Traditional Blues	Rockabilly Kenny Bill Stinson & The Ark-La-Mystics	Oratory Skills
Flower Arranging: Georgie Fisher	Cornbread Lucinda Cusic	Camp Cooking	Traditional Blues: Big Lucky & His Mighty Men of Sound	Gospel The Gerald Lewis Singers
Quilting: Martha Skelton	Hot Tamales: Jewel McCain	Working the Water	Root Blues: Eddie Cusic	Gospel from West Virginia: Elaine Purkey & Friends
Passing It On	Black-Eyed Pea Grnts Bread Dinni Clark	Tall Tales from the Camp 	Soul Blues: Sweet Miss Coffy & The Mississippi Burn'in Blues Band	South African A Cappella Natal '77
A Walk in the Garden	Coconut Pie: Lawrence Craig	Cotton: From Seed to Gin	Rockabilly: Kenny Bill Stinson & The Ark-La-Mystics 	Passing Down Sacred Sound: Building Community 

## SACRED SOUNDS

11:00

12:00

1:00

2:00

3:00


4:00

5:00


Performance Stage	Narrative Stage
St. Augustine Gospel Choir 	Muslim Voices
South African Dance Worship: International Christian Church 	Catholicism & Black Gospel Song
Onsha Sacred Music: Omo 'Nago	Sacred Sounds of the Shinto Faith
Jewish Traditions from Jerusalem 	South African Traditions & Christianity
Japanese Ritual Music Hawai'i Gagaku Kenkyukai	Onsha Traditions
Muslim Praise Song 	Sacred & Social Identities in South Africa
Gospel from West Virginia: Elaine Purkey & Friends	Jewish Traditions: Sacred & Secular
South African A Cappella Natal '77	Passing Down Sacred Sound: Building Community 

Dance Party  
Delta Stage

Highlife:

Bakula 

5:30-  
7:00






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
# SCHEDULE

## SATURDAY, JULY 5

### AFRICAN IMMIGRANT FOLKLIFE


	<i>Community Talk</i>	<i>Craft &amp; Enterprise</i>	<i>Foodways &amp; Homelife</i>	<i>Palaver Place Community Social Hall</i>	<i>Teaching &amp; Learning Culture</i>	<i>Music &amp; Dance</i>
<b>11:00</b>						
<b>12:00</b>	Old Traditions in New Settings	Ongoing demonstra- tions and dis- plays of African immigrant businesses and craftspeople: traditional hair braiding; traditional tailor/dress- making/ African clothing store; Obeng Market (Ghanaian- owned store); Cecelia Vilakazi (owner, South African imports) and Esther Mahlangu (Ndebele artist & bead- working)	Ghanaian Cooking: Veronica Abu	Street Theater: Theater of the Diaspora	Dressing for the Ghanaian Durbur 	Ghanaian Highlife: Pa Alex and Generations
	Passing on Culture		Senegalese Cooking: Liberata Ehumba	Ghanaian (Ewe) Music & Dance: Volta Ensemble	African Geography	
<b>1:00</b>	Connections to Home 					Ghanaian Durbur: Asanteman Kuo Organization Procession and Seating of Delegation
<b>2:00</b>	Immigration Stories		Ghanaian Cooking	Mural Painting: African Immigrant Artists	Ghanaian Children's Games	
<b>3:00</b>	Culture Bridging 		Lesotho Cooking: Nomvula Cook		African Greetings	Swearing-in of Asantehene Kuohene to Nana Effa Apenteng
	Work Experience Stories		Senegalese Cooking: Liberata Ehimba 	Street Theater: Theater of the Diaspora	African Immigrant Storytelling	Traditional Asante Dance & Drumming: Asanteman Kuo
<b>4:00</b>	Old Traditions in New Settings					
<b>5:00</b>	African Immigrant Musical Traditions		Ghanaian Cooking/ Presentation of Meal: Veronica Abu	Ghanaian (Ewe) Music & Dance	African Immigrant Arts & Adornment	Procession and Chiefs Dance
	Passing on Culture			Mural Painting: African Immigrant Artists	African Immigrants on the Internet 	

**5:30-  
7:00**

Ghanaian  
Highlife:  
Pa Alex and  
Generations  


**Dance Party**  
African Immigrant  
Stage

**7:00-  
9:00**

Church of the  
Living God  
Jerusalemite  
Religious Chant  
Group  
Myles Family  


**Evening Concert**  
African Immigrant  
Stage














# SCHEDULE

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## MISSISSIPPI DELTA

## SACRED SOUNDS

Home Narrative	Delta Kitchen	Camp Narrative	Delta Dance Hall	Worship Stage		Performance Stage	Narrative Stage
Quilting: Martha Skelton	Chinese Food Sally Chow	Fishing Stories	Root Blues Eddie Cusic 	Gospel Myles Family	11:00	Japanese Ritual Music Hawai'i Gagaku Kenkyukai	Sacred & Social Identities in South Africa 
Quilting: Henrietta Taylor	Cobbler: Dinni Clark	Cotton: From Seed to Gin	Traditional Blues: Big Lucky & His Mighty Men of Sound	Gospel The Gerald Lewis Singers	12:00	Orisha Sacred Music: Omo 'Nagô	Carnatic Devotional Traditions of India
Mah-Jong: The Chow Family	Cream & Fruit Pie: Lucinda Cusic 	Hunting Stories	Rockabilly: Kenny Bill Stinson & The Ark-La-Mystics	Oratory Skills	1:00	Gospel from West Virginia Elaine Purkey & Friends 	Sacred Sounds of the Shinto Faith
The Flood of 1927	Hot Tamales: Jewel McCain	Towboating on the Mississippi River	Dixieland Jazz: Tim Laughlin's New Orleans Dixieland Jazz Band	Lined-Out Hymns with Penola Caesar	2:00	South African A Cappella Natal '77	Orisha Traditions
Barbecue Pits: Albert Kelly	Chinese Food: Gilroy Chow	Camp Cooking	Soul Blues: Sweet Miss Coffy & The Mississippi Burn'in Blues Band	Easter Rock Winnsboro Easter Rock Ensemble	3:00	Carnatic Devotional Music: Ragamahka 	Muslim Voices
From Garden to Vase: Georgie Fisher 	Chocolate Pie Lawrence Craig	Catfish from the Farm & from the River	Traditional Blues: Big Lucky & His Mighty Men of Sound	Music as Worship	4:00	South African Dance Worship International Christian Church	Passing Down Sacred Sound Building Community
Tatting Edna White	Chocolate & Caramel Tart: Dinni Clark 	Decoys, Blinds & Calls	Root Blues: Eddie Cusic	Gospel: The Gerald Lewis Singers	5:00	Muslim Praise Song: Jerusalemite Religious Chant Group	Catholicism & Black Gospel Song 
Basket Making: Tampa Wilson	Hot Tamales: Jewel McCain	The Flood of 1927	Rockabilly: Kenny Bill Stinson & The Ark-La-Mystics	Worship Crafts: Easter Rock Banner Making		St. Augustine Gospel Choir	South African Traditions & Christianity 
A Walk through the Garden	Sweet Potato Pie: Lucinda Cusic	Traditional Blues 	Soul Blues: Sweet Miss Coffy & The Mississippi Burn'in Blues Band	Oratory Skills			

Sign language interpreters  
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# SCHEDULE

## SUNDAY, JULY 6

### AFRICAN IMMIGRANT FOLKLIFE






	<i>Community Talk</i>	<i>Craft &amp; Enterprise</i>	<i>Foodways &amp; Homelife</i>	<i>Palaver Place Community Social Hall</i>	<i>Teaching &amp; Learning Culture</i>	<i>Music &amp; Dance</i>
<b>11:00</b>	Old Traditions in New Settings		Southern Sudanese Cooking: Esther Samuel	Nigerian (Igbo) Naming Ceremony: Anioma Association	Theater Workshop Theater of the Diaspora	Traditional North African Music: North African Ensemble
<b>12:00</b>	Immigration Stories	Ongoing demonstra- tions and dis- plays of African immigrant craftspeople: Namori Keita (Malian woodcarver); Mamo Tessema (Ethiopian Region/ Oromo potter); Dame Gueye (Senegalese glass painter); Esther Mahlangu (South African/ Ndebele artist & bead- worker); African immigrant visual arts gallery	Moroccan Cooking: Samir Labriny			Central African Soukous: Liziba
<b>1:00</b>	African Immigrant Musical Traditions		Nigerian Cooking: Ann Olumba	Southern Sudanese Coronation Ceremony	African Immigrant Community Artists Workshop	Traditional Eritrean Music Eritrean Cultural & Civic Center
<b>2:00</b>	Promoting Traditional Arts					
<b>3:00</b>	Culture Bldging		Southern Sudanese Cooking: Esther Samuel	Nigerian (Igbo) Coming of Age Ceremony: All Ngwa Society	African Immigrant Stories & Games	Moroccan Shaabi and Rai: The Kasbah Band
<b>4:00</b>	Connections to Home		Moroccan Cooking/ Presentation of Meal: Samir Labriny		Henna Painting Workshop	Central African Soukous: Liziba
<b>5:00</b>	Promoting Traditional Arts			Street Theater Theater of the Diaspora	Teaching Moru, Dinka & Bari Language (Southern Sudanese)	Moroccan Shaabi and Rai: The Kasbah Band
	Passing on Culture			Closing Ceremonies. African Immigrant Communities		
	African Immigrant Musical Traditions		Nigerian Cooking: Ann Olumba		African Immigrants on the Internet	North African Music: North African Ensemble



# SCHEDULE

Schedules are subject to change.  
Check signs in each program area  
for specific information.

## MISSISSIPPI DELTA

Home Narrative	Delta Kitchen	Camp Narrative	Delta Dance Hall	Worship Stage
Quilting: Henrietta Taylor 	Baking: Sally Chow	Hunting & Fishing, Subsistence & Sport	Dixieland Jazz: Tim Laughlin's New Orleans Dixieland Jazz Band	Camp Meeting
Men, Women & the Blues	Cheese Straws & Jezebel Sauce: Dinni Clark	The Flood of 1927	Root Blues: Eddie Cusic	Gospel Myles Family
Tattooing: Edna White	Cornbread: Lucinda Cusic	Camp Cooking	Rockabilly  Kenny Bill Stinson & The Ark-La-Mystics	Lined-Out Hymns with Penola Caesar
Mah-Jong: The Chow Family	Barbecue Sauce: Lawrence Craig	Delta Crops: Catfish & Cotton	Traditional Blues: Big Lucky & His Mighty Men of Sound	Easter Rock Winnsboro Easter Rock Ensemble
Flower Arranging: Georgie Fisher	Hot Tamales: Jewel McCain	Hunting Calls	Soul Blues: Sweet Miss Coffy & The Mississippi Burn'in Blues Band	Gospel: The Gerald Lewis Singers 
Quilting: Martha Skelton	Catfish: Dinni Clark 	Cotton: Then & Now	Dixieland Jazz: Tim Laughlin's New Orleans Dixieland Jazz Band	Music as Worship
Basket Making: Tampa Wilson	The Perfect Barbecue: Lawrence Craig, Gilroy Chow & Albert Kelly	Decoys, Blinds & Calls	Rockabilly: Kenny Bill Stinson & The Ark-La-Mystics	Gospel: Myles Family
Passing It On	Collard Greens: Lucinda Cusic	Willing to Take a Risk 	Traditional Blues: Big Lucky & His Mighty Men of Sounds	Oratory Skills
A Walk in the Garden	Pralines: Jewel McCain	Tall Tales from the Camp	Traditional Blues: Henry & Tookie	Gospel: The Gerald Lewis Singers

## SACRED SOUNDS

11:00	Performance Stage	Narrative Stage
	Jewish Traditions from Jerusalem  Shiru Shir	Sacred Sounds of the Shinto Faith
12:00	South African A Cappella Natal '77 	South African Traditions & Christianity
1:00	Japanese Ritual Music Hawai'i Gagaku Kenkyukai	Onsha Traditions
2:00	Gospel from West Virginia Elaine Purkey & Friends	Sacred & Social Identities in South Africa
3:00	Onsha Sacred Music Omo 'Nago 	Jewish Traditions: Sacred & Secular
	Carnatic Devotional Music: Ragamalika	Passing Down Sacred Sound Building Community
4:00	South African Dance Worship: International Christian Church	Muslim Voices 
5:00	St. Augustine Gospel Choir	Carnatic Devotional Traditions of India 
	Muslim Praise Song: Jerusalemite Religious Chant Group	Catholicism & Black Gospel Song


Dance Party  
Delta Stage

Evening Concert  
Delta Stage

CLOSING CEREMONY  Moroccan Shaabi and Rai: Kasbah Band
International House of Prayer for all People  Gospel Elaine Purkey Dixieland

5:30–  
7:00

7:00–  
9:00

Sign language interpreters  
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# FESTIVAL SUPPORTERS

## Major Sponsors

The Festival of American Folklife is supported in part by Federal appropriations and Smithsonian Trust funds. Additionally:

### THE MISSISSIPPI DELTA

Support for this program comes from the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians, the Mississippi Arts Commission, The Rhythm & Blues Foundation, and The Recording Industries Music Performance Trust Funds.

### AFRICAN

#### IMMIGRANT FOLKLIFE

Support for this program comes from the Smithsonian Institution Educational Outreach Program and The Recording Industries Music Performance Trust Funds.

### SACRED SOUNDS: BELIEF & SOCIETY

Support for this program comes from The Recording Industries Music Performance Trust Funds and the Republic of South Africa Department of Arts, Culture, Science, and Technology.

### THE RALPH RINZLER MEMORIAL CONCERT

This concert has been made possible with support from the Friends of the Festival, the Ruth Mott Fund, Bob Dylan, The Recording Industries Music Performance Trust Funds, Homespun Tapes, County Records, the Woody Guthrie Foundation, Sugar Hill Records, Kate Rinzler, and Smithsonian Folkways Recordings.

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Extra special thanks to the community scholars and advisors who gave their time, effort, and commitment over three years, resulting in this program.

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 The staff and community scholars of the African Immigrant project are grateful to Harold for his donation of countless late nights and weekends, mileage, materials, and services from 1996 through 1997.

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**FESTIVAL TEACHERS SEMINARS:** As in previous years, several teachers seminars will use the Festival as a learning resource. "One Land, Many Voices" is sponsored by the Smithsonian Office of Education. This popular seminar, now in its fourth year, attracts Washington-area teachers who obtain hands-on experience in the folklorist's methods of learning about culture: observing, documenting, interviewing, and interpreting. Instructors for the course, which meets June 27-29 and July 2-3, are Drs. Marjorie Hunt and Olivia Cadaval of the Center for Folklife Programs & Cultural Studies.

Other educators visiting the Festival this year include participants in the University of Maryland course for music teachers taught by Cherie Stellacchio. Educators from four cities in the Mexico/U.S. border region (Imperial Valley, California; Rio Rico, Arizona; and El Paso and Laredo, Texas) who participated in the 1996 Talleres de la Frontera project will meet for a two-day workshop to share their experiences with the education kit based on the 1993 Borderlands Festival program, *Borders and Identity*.

## CURRENT EDUCATIONAL OFFERINGS

From the Center for Folklife Programs & Cultural Studies

### Workers at the White House

This half-hour video documentary features the occupational folklife and oral histories of a broad range of White House workers — butlers, maids, doormen, chefs, plumbers, and others. Through their memories, skills, and values, these workers help us to understand the White House in human terms — as a home and a workplace, a public building and a national symbol. A 24-page educational booklet accompanies the video. Produced in cooperation with the White House Historical Association and the National Archives, copyright 1994. **Grades 6-12. \$24.95. Catalog # SF48003**

### Borders and Identity

This bilingual kit explores the complex notion of identity along the United States/Mexico border. In four segments — on history, belief, expressive arts, and occupational traditions — students learn from the stories of border residents. This kit includes a four-part video, a poster-size cultural map, and a teacher/student guide with exercises for classroom use. Published 1996. **Grades 6-12. \$55.00 kit; \$10 cultural map separately. Catalog # SF90010**

### Land and Native American Cultures

This kit introduces students to the use of land in Native American communities through three case studies: the Hopi of Arizona; the Tlingit, Haida, and Tsimshian of Alaska; and the Aymara and Quechua of Bolivia and Peru. Units address subsistence, crafts, mythology, and ritual. The kit includes an extensive teacher/student guide with narrative, photographs, resource listing, and activity questions. A slide set accompanies the guide. Published 1997. **Grades 9-12. \$35.00. Catalog # SF90011**

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### Learning About Folklife: The U.S. Virgin Islands & Senegal

This kit concentrates on the rich folklife of the U.S. Virgin Islands and Senegal through a focus on foodways, music and storytelling, and celebrations. The kit contains a four-part video-cassette, two audio-cassettes, and a teacher's guide with maps, photographs, and line illustrations. Published 1992. **Grades 6-12, \$45.00. Catalog # SF90012**

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The Festival of American Folklife presents the wealth of American and world cultures for the education and enjoyment of visitors. But it doesn't end with the celebration on the Mall; Smithsonian staff transform Festival research into traveling exhibitions, films, publications, learning guides, and Smithsonian Folkways recordings. Supported by a combination of federal and private funds, the Festival and its related programs depend on the generous assistance of the public to preserve grassroots cultures.

We invite you to join us. As a Friend of the Festival, you will support the Festival and its work of cultural preservation, education, and research. You'll learn what happens behind the scenes at the Festival and about opportunities to volunteer on Festival projects.

## **As a Friend at the \$25 level, you will receive:**

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## **Our Rinzler's Circle\* members, at the \$500 level, will receive:**

- all of the above gifts and other special recognition throughout the year.

**Cenny C. Hester** is the new Program Manager for the Friends of the Festival. Her address is 955 L'Enfant Plaza, S.W., Suite 1406, MRC 923, Washington, D.C. 20560; phone (202) 287-2167; fax (202) 287-3562; email: cfpcs.cenny@ic.si.edu.

Please be sure to visit the Friends of the Festival Tent while you are at the Festival of American Folklife. We look forward to discussing the Friends program with you and can enroll you as a member of the Friends of the Festival when you visit. If you will not have an opportunity to visit the Friends Tent, please contact Ms. Hester for a brochure on the Friends program. Your assistance will play an integral part in supporting research and education about traditional cultures.

\* Ralph Rinzler was the long-time director of the Festival of American Folklife. Ralph passed away in July 1994; we have created the Circle to honor his outstanding commitment and accomplishments.







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Support for this program comes  
from the Smithsonian Institution  
Educational Outreach Program.

### Sacred Sounds: Belief & Society

Support for this program comes  
from The Recording Industries  
Music Performance Trust Funds  
and the Republic of South Africa  
Department of Arts, Culture,  
Science, and Technology.

### The Ralph Rinzler Memorial Concert

This concert has been made possi-  
ble with support from the Friends  
of the Festival, the Ruth Mott  
Fund, Bob Dylan,  
Homespun Tapes, County  
Records, the Woody Guthrie  
Foundation, Sugar Hill Records,  
Kate Rinzler, and Smithsonian  
Folkways Recordings.



# 1997 Festival of American Folklife Site Map

National Museum of American History

National Museum of Natural History

Festival Sales

Madison Drive

12th Street Tunnel

**HOME AREA**

Home Crafts, Cooking in the Delta, Sewing Machine, Cotton Farming, Crops, River Fish, River Work, Hunting Crafts, Camp Narrative, Cooking

**WORK AREA**

Crop Dusting, Garden, Home Narrative, River Work

**PLAY AREA**

Home Crafts, Hunting Crafts

Mississippi Delta

**WORSHIP AREA**

Worship Crafts, Workshop Stage, Delta Dance Hall

Washington Monument

**ADMINISTRATION COMPOUND**

First Aid, Information, Food / Beverages, Juices, Friends, Volunteers

**AFRICAN IMMIGRANT FOLKLIFE**

Garden, Foodways & Home Life, Community Social Hall, Crafts & Enterprise, Teaching & Learning Culture, Community Tale Narrative

**MUSIC AND DANCE**

GSI, Participant Hospitality

**SACRED NARRATIVE**

**SACRED SOUNDS**

Sacred Sounds Music Stage

U.S. Capitol

**Map Legend**

- First Aid
- Information
- Food / Beverages
- Juices

METRO

Jefferson Drive

Smithsonian Castle